Daily Report

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National Free Election Held; Results Reported

PPSh Reportedly Wins; Alia Loses Seat

AU0104070491 Paris AFP in English
0422 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Text] Tirana, April 1 (AFP)—Albania's ruling communist party [Albanian Workers Party—PPSh] appeared assured of remaining in power after multiparty elections on Sunday [31 March], despite a strong showing by the main opposition party in the capital Tirana and other cities.

Incomplete and unofficial returns announced early Monday by the opposition Democratic Party and backed by estimates from a representative of the Gallup poll here showed the Party of Labor [PPSh] (Communists) winning more than 60 per cent of the seats in Albania's 250-member parliament. The same estimates gave less than 40 per cent of the seats to the Democratic Party, the Communists' main rivals in the country's first free vote under communist rule.

Communists appeared to have won heavily in the countryside and the south of the country, while the Democratic Party scored impressively in Tirana and in several major cities.

President Ramiz Alia lost his parliamentary seat in a Tirana district to a member of the Democratic Party, which took 18 of the capital's 19 seats, according to the unofficial results. Mr. Alia lost to an unknown engineer, Franko Krroqi, in what observers said was symbolic of the rejection of reformed communist policies by urban intellectuals.

Other communist officials to suffer defeat were Muhamet Kapllani, the foreign minister, who lost to a gymnastics professor, and Spiro Dede, secretary of the communist party's central committee, who was unseated by Napoleon Roshi, head of Radio Tirana's international service.

Prime Minister Fatos Nano, a Communist Party candidate in Tirana, was forced into a runoff next Sunday, according to the Democratic Party's tally.

The Democrats, fearing fraud by Communist authorities, had organized its own computer-aided vote-counting system.

First official results were to be announced before noon on Monday, according to a Foreign Ministry official.

Leaders of the Democratic Party, founded less than four months ago when Communist authorities first agreed to the creation of opposition parties, did well with party head Sali Berisha, a cardiologist, elected with 90 per cent of the vote in Kavaje, a town outside Tirana. Another Democratic Party founder, the economist Gramoz Pashko, was elected from the southwestern city of Vlora.

The party also scored strongly in the northern city of Shkoder, where a student, Azen Hajdari, and a former political prisoner, Pjetar Arbnori, were elected in the first round. Mr. Arbnori spent 28 years in prison for attempting to create a social-democratic party in the 1960's.

Turnout among Albania's 1.9 million voters was 95 per cent, according to Albanian television.

More than 100 international observers were in Albania to monitor the elections.

Although Mr. Berisha complained of numerous instances of fraud and voter manipulation by communist authorities, most foreign observers said the voting appeared to have been fair. Final results are expected for Tuesday.

In Albania's last parliamentary elections in 1987, 100 per cent of the country's 1.8 million voters chose communist candidates running unopposed, according to the Albanian news agency ATA.

Alia Speaks During Meeting With Electors

AU3003213691 Tirana ATA in English
1052 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia during meeting with electors of Precinct No. 218; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—I came to meet and talk with you not only as the candidate with the electors, but also as friends, who sincerely want to help each other to the general benefit of the society.

The proposal to be your representative to the supreme organ of the state power in the next legislature too, testifies to the trust you put in me, and at the same time it is a great obligation for me.

I am confident that the people will display on March 31 their political maturity. They will give their votes for the party of labor, because this party brought them out of misery and ignorance, of exploitation and slavery, made them masters of their own destinies and of the sovereignty of the homeland, made them amongst the civilized peoples and countries.

The Party of Labor (PLA) is a party with deep roots in the people.

The programs forwarded by the political forces taking part in this election campaign are numerous, but, in essence, the alternatives are only two: social equality and justice or differentiation and polarization of the society, the security or insecurity of the life's gradual positive changes or unrest and destabilization, the strengthening of the country's freedom and independence or putting them to auction. We believe in the common sense and high patriotic conscience of our people on the road they will choose.

The Party of Labor is the only political force that appears in this campaign in a spirit of rendering accounts. This is not the first but the 10th time for it.

The political parties are affirmed through the programs they forward, the outlets and alternatives they propose, the ideals inspiring the people. But there are also some of them which think that it is easier to be distinguished by amplifying the others' errors and shortcomings and negating the achievements of the past instead of winning the hearts and minds of the people through democratic means and constructive spirit.

We do not fear history, because we are proud before it. The Party of Labor considers it as an advantage and not as a hindrance in the electoral campaign for victory. In the course of this long history there were many cases and tests for the people to confirm their belief in it. Every retrospection would do credit to the Albanian communists before time and their people. If in this history there were solutions which might have been better, to mention them unintentionally does not mean in the slightest to distort the positive image of the PLA. It took in its hands the people's destiny at a moment when their very existence as a nation was at stake and made Albania a modern state completely affirmed in the fold of the peoples' big family.

The people followed with confidence our party because they considered it as the only liberation force. They made sacrifices in the name of a free and independent Albania run by the people. The power that emerged from the national liberation war was the people's power, a fully democratic power. The feudal monarchy was buried and was replaced by the republican way of government, with a wide social and people's base.

It was the party of labor that prevented Albania's annexation by Yugoslavia and it is the party and Enver Hoxha that challenged in 1960 the Soviet imperial appetites and dismantled the foreign bases from the country. It is her merit that Albania denounced the Warsaw Treaty since 1968 and did not join the foreign military pacts. No one dares negate these important values of hers. On the contrary, numerous are those who are obliged to admit that Albania has merited more gratitude for her heroic stand. Political independence, certainly has been to the benefit of Albania, but we should say that it has been a considerable contribution to the community of European peoples. Although it costed us a lot, this independence deserved its price.

After speaking on the socialist manner of production and economic policy that led to the material progress in all the corners of the country, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that if consider it from all sides, it follows that the policy of material development pursued by the Party of Labor is economically justified.

If we all managed to usher in this irrevocable path of democratization without much pain and lesions this is due to our culture and civilization, promoted under a special care of the party.

It is the Party of Labor that conceived the platform of Albanian democracy, it is its standard-bearer and applier. None of the opposition political parties existed when the plenums of the Central Committee of the PLA adopted the known decisions on the radical change of legislation, the transition from the centralized administrative system to that of running through economic methods, the establishment of the juridical state and the detachment of party activity from the state one, the democratization of the economy and policy, culture and of art, the whole country's life .

The Party of Labor ushered in the epoch of multi-party system aware of the new developments the country was living in, and ushered confidently in victory. This trust derives from the experience it has gained in its long activity, the experience that has tempered it to shoulder heavy burdens, the capability to forge ahead in conformity with the torrents of the time, the guarantee of the broad support by the people.

The new constitution, which submits all the structures of political power to a radical democratic reform, is an initiative translated into life by the party of labor. It is the party that introduced a new concept in the state life of the country on the human rights, raising them to the level of international conventions. At present our citizen enjoys the right of the freedom of speech and thinking, of organization and manifestation, private property and free movement within the country and abroad. As an illustration of this new concept are the successive pardons of some groups of political prisoners, down to the final release of all those deprived of freedom on the grounds of conscience.

The opposition would prefer that every program, platform and every idea of the Party of Labor be adopted for good since November 8, 1941, that its line be unchangeable. But witnessing its dialectical spirit, vitality to realistically respond in time to the circumstances and situations, the consistency in the struggle for the construction of a society where each one lives on his work and physical and mental capabilities, the opposition strives to consider it as lack of seriousness. According to it, a party that a few months ago has said that now it is winter, can not say now that it is spring? But the Party of Labor expects no one else to teach it either dialectic seriousness, democracy, or the manner of adapting to new realities.

The Party of Labor has always known to keep pace with time. Since it initiated the reforms which are being applied at present, it was aware that it could not lead them without reforming itself first. It is its merit that felt this necessity and is realizing it in all respects. The current program of the PLA affords it the possibility of a whole political and ideological and organizational renovation preserving at the same time even its originality and identity. This is an immense encouragement for us, because a party which renovates itself and is a reformer in every situation, such as the Party of Labour, remains always a political source of a great mission.

At the moment there have appeared political forces and groupings that strive to convince the public opinion that democracy is their monopoly. But time appeals on us not

to boast, but to work all of us without wasting a minute to build up democracy. Democracy is and should be the power of the people and no one except the people can claim for its monopoly.

Democracy is built with a constructive cooperation of the political forces in power and the opposition ones. Under such conditions every important decision adopted should be expression of the resultant of the existing political multiparty wills and initiatives. As a form of thinking and governing, democracy has its means, its language of dialogue and agreement, it has as a condition patience and tolerance. Democracy is built up neither with grudges and rage, nor with nihilism and destruction.

Since liberation and on the Party of Labor has been the sole political force, but the political power has always been in the hands of the people but it cannot forget, the less so to abandon the broad masses that follow it for the struggle it has waged, the program and ideals it embodies. It is for the democratic competition of alternatives and upholds that this competition will lead it to victory. We do not ask for what we do not deserve. The decision of the people, to be expressed in their vote, is irrevocable for all.

The people has dreamt of the future in gay colors. All the political forces should be committed to return to them the lost tranquillity, to immediately recover the economic and moral recession, to establish fully and above all the rules of the juridical state, to march resolutely towards integration with Europe. In no way should we allow the people, either a handful of people, get disillusioned by democracy. This would have grave consequences. Under these hard times every disillusionment would aggravate the situation too much.

People's disillusionment is not a result of public confrontation of electoral political subjects. It is a product of sick psychosis, propaganda aggressiveness the spirit of destroying the created values. May the events of Tirana, Durres, Kavaja, etc., be the sole bitter memoir of the road we are traversing. All should realize that democracy is freedom to think of whatever you like, but not to do whatever you want to.

We enjoy all possibilities to provide the people with a fully democratic and contemporary government and it would be very dangerous that another crisis, the crisis for power be added to the economic and moral crisis.

The political parties and associations, different electoral subjects contending in the current campaign, are publicly involved to see to elections with calmness, subjecting to the popular verdict coolheadedly. Since the beginning, when political pluralism was institutionalized, the Party of Labor declared that it was for loyal dialogue and cooperation on the basis of the program with the other parties. It will continue to abide by this stand. Its program is thoroughly pervaded by the idea of national unity.

The Albanians inherited from their predecessors the sense of agreement and wisdom. Certainly they will display this precious virtue even in these days. A pluralist People's Assembly, a government to emerge from it, as well as the readiness of political forces for understanding, are the fundamental conditions for the people to lead a better life.

The Party of Labor has played a great role in the contemporary developments. The opposition is trying to minimize and darken this role. They would like the people comprehend pluralism as a total overthrow of the situation. But pluralism without the Party of Labor, without that which legalized and instrumentalized it as juridical reality, cannot exist. There cannot be democracy on partial will, the less so such will intended to impose on all others. The people are fully right to ask: When a party resorts to all means to dictate is views as an opposition, how would it exercise its power when seizing power?

On this occasion I appeal on all citizens to judge upon with the feeling of historic responsibility and political consciousness. Everyone should ask himself: Which is that political force that has set proofs that it has not lest the people in the mercy of its luck and Albania in the mercy of chance? Which is that political force to pin hopes on, in order to come out soon of crisis and which can enrich the material and spiritual life of the people? In case the people want a really free future without chains of the foreigners they should give votes to no one else, but the Party of Labor.

The electoral race of parties ends on March 32 [as received] and one day later starts the work of the people to realize the ideas and alternatives put forward.

Today the people consider the programs and alternatives offered to them, but tomorrow they will consider the deeds. The Party of Labor is the most skillful political force that does not separate words from deeds. It does not aim at winning in these elections and then to avoid the historic responsibility before the people and homeland. It will ever betray its electors.

The Party of Labor appears in the current election campaign with a program which has been welcomed by the electors, which express their fundamental aspirations. This program is considered at home and abroad as an ambitious alternative which harmonizes the desires of the people with the real possibilities of the country. It contains targets for accelerated developments but based on sound economic grounds; we have not presented a program for votes, but a couple of all-sided measures to come out of the critical situation as soon as possible and to guarantee the strengthening of the superiority in the social field, justice and equality for all, the application of the freedoms and rights of citizens in compliance with the known international laws.

The initiated economic reform will bring about the establishment of a vast democracy in production, the functioning and competition of all forms of property,

market and initiatives, combining the operation of objective economic laws with the active role of the state.

Our program takes into consideration the difficult economic moment we are living in. But the Party of Labor of Albania upholds that difficulties and stagnation in production can be overcome. How will we come out of this situation? We do not expect our salvation from the "white cheques" and the abundance of dollars.

We do not nurture the people with illusions that world will allegedly [words indistinct] as renters. No brothers and sisters, the sole injection that can remedy the economy of our country is the work of the people. No one will help us, despite the political forces in power, without seeing all of as setting down to work. We can go to Europe by working and producing. Europe is in no need of tourists, but of business.

Our people should consider the program of the PLA as the most logical alternative of putting economy in normal working conditions and the positive change of its processes, this program contains a new orientation on the road of development, spending a considerable quantity of investments for consumption and not for production, for the light and food industry and not for the heavy industry, for transaction and not for capital means. [sentence as received]

The economic program of the party affords the possibility to put on a good road some processes which life proved unjustifiable from the economic point of view and exaggerations observed in the policy according to which the state controls the whole economic activity will be repaired in the three forms of property, state, of the group and private property contending greater support will enjoy some sectors as public services, handicraft, tourism etc. Trade, particularly that of retail goods, will develop without restriction as from the viewpoint of property, the private one included. There will also [word indistinct] various forms of work, starting with those of cooperation and individual one, down to partnership and daily-pay. This is what we call a new economic climate.

An important factor to recover the country's economic situation will be the productive and trade cooperation with the world. The Party of Labor is of the opinion that the rapprochement of our country with Europe should be realized not through emigration, the exodus en masse of refugees towards the West, but by withdrawing foreign capitals here. We stand for exporting work and not labor power. In case Europe wishes to help Albania, it might effectuate it by investing here, certainly having the guarantee of its realization and interests.

In its election propaganda, the opposition tries to threaten the electors, exerting psychological pressure on them. Amongst others it has spread rumors that if the PLA wins the Western world will not assist Albania. Naturally such a propaganda is reckoned for the naives. The world is interested in the normal development of a country, in the conduct of free, secret, democratic elections. It is up to the polls that organizes the elections to decide upon which party will be in power. If Europe would pursue the desires of our "democrats", it would betray itself, because it would interfere in others' home affairs, something it can not do. Discrimination of this or that political force is an anti-democratic concept, it is not an European concept.

The PLA is currently the party in power. Nevertheless, such a fact has not hampered either states, banks, or Western firms to establish economic and financial relations with the Albanian state. Is not the recent cooperation with Italy a proof to this? Negotiations have been conducted with the Italian party and it has been agreed upon in principle on a three-year plan for financing various projects in Albania. Don't the economic agreements signed with France on Banja hydro-power station or Turkey's 30 million dollars credit and 20 million dollars from Greece testify to this? Doesn't the cooperation with the IMF prove this?

Our state enterprises have reached important agreements on the offshore oil and gas exploration and exploitation with West German, American an Italian companies, amounting to huge sums of investments.

We might tell the people that only the agreements signed until now with foreign firms guarantee consistency at rates [word indistinct] times faster than the program of investments to be gradually applied in all fields of economy, starting with the metallurgy [word indistinct] engineering industry and the textile one down to tourism. But political stability is a condition for this. We expect that after March 31 elections the country's political state life and the economic one will be normal.

The Party of Labor has pursued a generally correct policy in the field of defense. This policy should be considered closely linked with the objective circumstances we have experienced. The cold war obliged us to undertake action which at present might seem unreasonable. But now we are witnessing another reality and it is erroneous to draw evaluations without taking into consideration the climate of tension and international confrontations that existed in the past.

In its program the Party of Labor has not dwelt at length on the problem of the Army but it has clear its goals in this field .

The Army organs of the interior and judicial could not fail to be swept in the democratic processes. Part of them is also their party depoliticisation. This question will be legally solved with the adoption of the new constitution, which puts these organs on direct dependency of the supreme instances of the state power.

The Party of Labor deems it a major moral obligation to take care of the military men in general, of their legal defense and the heightening of their figure. The study to be applied soon on the establishment of military grades

end which will contribute to the consolidation of military order and discipline, is a result of its initiative we abide by the idea that the homeland can not be defended by a handful of soldiers, but by the force of the united people. We appreciate the climate of easing tension but we should not allow to be overcome by euphoria.

It does credit to the Party of Labor that in this election campaign it is almost the only political force that, although in a grave economic situation, has dwelt in its program particularly on the problems of culture and art. This is a continuation of an earlier tradition. Our party has waged the struggle for culture parallel and with the same importance as the struggle for bread.

The veterans will be treated with all the merited respect. They are the country's pride. The wounds of the war and of the construction undertakings that weigh heavily on their shoulders merit the loftiest evaluation, which will never lack.

It is known worldwide that the Party of Labor is the initiator of broadening the ties of our country with foreign countries and generally of the new conception of the relations with foreign countries. Owing to its foreign policy it responded to the new realities and the contemporary spirit of international links and cooperation.

The process of opening and integration with the world, which has started since some time now was outlined more clearly and more concretely at the beginning of the last year, with the decisions of the 9th and 10 plenums of the Party Central Committee. Now we may say that this process have marked successful progress.

We reestablished fully the relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. The perspective of their promotion of mutual benefit is promising. To this end work is going on to reestablish soon diplomatic relations with those few countries with which for one reason or another we have not had diplomatic relations. We hope to settle with England in the spirit of understanding and in conformity with the new viewpoints the conflict for the Albanian gold that has separated us till now.

As we had defined, thanks to the all round efforts within a short period of time, Albania has already accomplished all the general and [word indistinct] conditions necessary to join the CSCE on equal footing. As far as we know, all have given the consensus for such a thing. This makes us hope that we will not have to wait long. Only the formal side of the procedure is not yet completed.

The history and culture of our people are closely linked with Europe. Joining its positive processes is a continuation of these ancient links. This is to our country's interest. While Europe, as we have said also long ago, can do without tiny Albania, we cannot survive without the big world.

We have created the conviction that Europe, too, sees Albania from a new angle. More and more often, especially since the dawn of the democratization on, it is increasingly mentioned the obligation of the continent towards a sovereign country unjustly left aside, which, on its part, has contributed a great deal to the cultural community and the European civilization.

Actually numerous are those in our country who raise a hue and cry to "go towards Europe", "to become as Europe" etc. Proceeding from these slogans, it seems as if Europe has made no progress, as if nothing has taken place in Europe, and it is us alone who should move. I don't want to comment on these euphoric slogans, which create the impression that joining Europe is an excursion. But it is a fact that Europe itself has changed a great deal, both in the West and the East. Suffice it to mention the CSCE, which is a process and result of the end of the cold war, of the U.S.-Soviet agreements, of the transformations in the East, of disarmament, of the new political concepts which brought about a relatively long peaceful period on our continent, of the new developments the international trade and economic cooperation are assuming.

To claim that the current situation in Europe has existed even earlier, but the Party of Labor did not see or realize it, means not to know the history at all or to proceed from an open political ill-will.

The attitude of our party by adhering to the policy either with the East nor with the West, has for long been correct and responded to the lofty interests of the country just as the demand that Albania join the process of European Security and Cooperation is just in this time .

The blocs that existed then do not exist today. The neutrality of that time ensured the country's full freedom, independence and sovereignty. Today these lofty ideals can be realized through the European security and cooperation. And this not only for Albania, but for all the countries of the continent.

In this context, the changes and initiatives launched by our party should not be considered as a correction of errors, though there might have been such, but as a whole they are necessary stands and indispensable adaptions to the international situations and circumstances that have changed.

Another direction we attached a great importance to since the very beginning has been Albania's participation in the process of the Balkan cooperation. We have considered this activity as a possibility to contribute to the strengthening of peace and friendship together with all the participants not only because the Balkans is the region we are living in and will live in the future, but also because its situation is closely related to and greatly affects the situation in Europe, in its efforts to strengthen cooperation on the whole continent.

Our party and state have maintained this stand and pursued this policy towards the Balkans not for propaganda or opinion. We proceed from the thought that the policy towards neighbors is a criteria and measurement to appreciate the whole foreign policy of a state.

Today, when the situation in the Balkans has become very delicate and when all possible conflicts are on the verge of breaking out in Yugoslavia , it is clear that the course we set for participating in the cooperation in the peninsula, the concepts and theses we upheld regarding this question, have been fully correct. We have declared and still say that the conflicts and quarrels among the Balkan countries cannot be solved either through the mentalities or through the old formulas, but by proceeding from a new political will, based on the spirit of European security and cooperation. This is, as time is proves, the only democratic alternative of solving the problems our region seethes with.

Actually the situation in Yugoslavia is very grave and it threatens to be out of control. Such a case would create preoccupations and dangers not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also for their neighbors. Especially in Kosovo the situation has become dramatic. The Serb occupation regime turned the Albanians into a people without any right, in citizens without any protection.

Other nationalistic Serb parties support Milosevic's chauvinistic policy which aims at turning the Albanians into rajs and slaves. No one in Serbia has appeared so far in defense of the Albanians, not only concerning the national and social rights, but the universal humanitarian rights as well. The division between Serbs and the Albanians is already complete.

Moment has come for all the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Croatians, Slovenes, Bosnians, Macedonians and Montenegrins to express publicly and officially their desire if they want to live in a federal, confederal or communitarian state with the Albanians, as independent and equal subjects, or each to think for himself.

If now when the physiognomy of the future state of Yugoslavia is under discussion, the Croatians, Slovenes and others will not ask for and insist or better to say, will put up as a condition the Albanians' participation in these talks as equal partners, then it is difficult to establish cooperation with them too. The Albanians cannot be a passive factor for games and tactics of others, either in Yugoslavia or outside it.

In case they will still remain in the mercy of their fate, they themselves will know how to defend their rights and aspirations and to choose the most reasonable roads to realize them.

As far as the Albanian state is concerned, just as in the past, today and tomorrow, we will support unhesitatingly and to the end the just demands of our Albanian brothers. No slander or insinuation, wherever it may come from, will divert us from this stand.

The policy of non recognizing national equality in a multinational state as Yugoslavia, the policy of Albanians' enslavement by the Serbs is anachronistic and with no perspective. It runs contrary to the current world tendencies. The future belongs to the equality of peoples.

It were the Party of Labor and our state that launched the idea of codifying the policy of good neighborliness, as an important constant of their attitudes regarding the border countries. We want good neighbourliness with Yugoslavia and with Greece too. It has been hindered only then when there was lack of the will of the other party.

We hail the quick positive steps taken recently in the relations with Italy and appreciate the wisdom and support of the politicians of this country, which display a sincere concern for our country. We consider these relations with a double role, of mutual benefit and as bridges to join Europe. We wish the bilateral interests contribute to further develop them, so that cooperation with Italy become an example of friendly relations.

Our party will pursue a contemporary foreign policy freed from complexes. Of fundamental importance in our foreign policy is that we refuse friendship to no one, irrespective of the fact that the one who affords his hand to us is rich or poor, white, black or yellow. As an important priority, the integration with the European processes will not hinder us to realize relations and fruitful cooperation with other regions of the world.

Our people see and should look forward to elections with confidence in the Party of Labor of Albania, because it not only has a great political and organizational experience, but it has also creative capacities, vitality and is capable to respond to the demands of the time, the tasks of the present and future.

The people want to march on the road of democracy, but they want to traverse this road in peace and tranquillity, through constructive dialogue and dissociated from any action that might provoke feuds, splits and the worst so could lead to conflicts and confrontations.

It is the merit of the Party of Labor that even in very delicate and crucial moments as those we experienced recently, has known how to avoid provocations and particularly the dangerous confrontations, which was and is the goal of all those who want Albania's destabilization, the liquidation if its freedom and independence. In the future too our party will be a guarantee to tranquillity and order, the normal development of the society, the security for calm democratic developments and social peace, the preservation and strengthening of national and people's sovereignty. That is why we should put trust in the PLA, which has a 50 year experience and during the whole life has worked and works for the people and only for their interests.

The Party of Labor has never promised the people the heaven and silver spoon. It has always linked its targets with the results of the work of the masses. Its program guarantees the quick stabilization of the situation, the return of people to work, the reestablishment of a normal regime of production in economy.

Therefore may the March 31 elections be the test and testimony to the political maturity of the people, a worthy reply to the patriotic appeal the voice of the

homeland addresses to their consciousness. Let's go to the polls and give the votes for the candidates of the Party of Labor, the party that was born from the fold of the people, the party that was reared by the people, the party the people themselves love and defend.

Provisional Election Turnout 96.91 Percent

AU3103204891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Interview with unidentified electoral official by Zamire Koleci at Palace of Congresses in Tirana; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Koleci] Dear listeners: I am speaking to you again from the Information Center at the Palace of Congresses to find out about the electoral turnout. These are provisional figures. Can you tell our listeners about these data at the national level?

[Official] Yes. According to present reports, 98.6 percent of the electorate voted; Diber, 98.7 percent; Durres, 98.1 percent, Elbasan, 96.2 percent; Fier, 98.8 percent; Gramsh, 99.9 percent; Gjirokaster, 91.2 percent; Kolonje, 99.9 percent; Korce, 99.3 percent; Kruje, 98.2 percent; Kukes, 98.9 percent; Lezhe 98.9 percent; Librazhd 99.8 percent; Lushnje, 97.5 percent; Mat, 98.9 percent; Mirdite, 97.7 percent; Permet, 99.5 percent; Pogradec, 99.1 percent; Puke, 96.9 percent; Sarande 92.4 percent; Skrapar, 99.7 percent; Shkoder, 93.9 percent; Tepelene, 98.3 percent; Tirana, 92.4 percent; Tropoje, 97.1 percent; Vlore, 97.9 percent. The turnout at national level has been 96.91 percent: 95.77 percent in the towns and 97.81 percent in the countryside.

[Koleci] Can you give us further data classified according to the categories of villages, small, medium-sized, and large towns?

[Official] According to the data so far, the turnout in villages throughout the republic has been 97.7 percent; in small towns, 98.36 percent; in medium-sized towns 95.17 percent, and the turnout in the largest towns has been lowest at 93.70 percent.

[Koleci] Are there any other data so far suggesting a 100-percent turnout anywhere?

[Official] No. There are still no data about a 100-percent turnout; however, I have received these data by telephone, and perhaps not all of them refer to the close of the polls, so that I hope, for instance, that for Shkoder District some of the data refer to 1730 rather than 2000. Perhaps the exact level of turnout will be given by the Central Electoral Commission's communique tomorrow afternoon or the day after.

Party Leaders on 'Calm' Elections

AU3103144391

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 31 March devotes 18 minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to reports on the People's Assembly elections.

In a live report from the Press Center in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana, reporter Zamire Koleci, states: "According to the most recent information received one hour ago, the election turnout in the districts has been as follows: Berat, 87 percent; Diber, 78 percent; Durres, 87 percent; Elbasan, 77 percent; Fier, 81 percent; Gramsh, 98 percent; Gjirokaster, 87 percent; Kolonje, 96 percent; Korce, 88 percent; Kruje, 75 percent; Kukes, 63 percent; Lezhe, 81 percent; Librazhd, 56 percent; Lushnje, 88 percent; Mat, 79 percent; Mirdite, 86 percent; Permet, 94 percent; Pogradec, 74 percent; Puke, 55 percent; Sarande, 83 percent; Skrapar, 96 percent; Shkoder, 51 percent; Tepelene, 92 percent; Tirana, 73 percent; Tropoje, 84 percent; Vlore 79 percent."

Koleci conducts a live interview with Justice Minister Dashamir Kore, who states: "According to the information we have from the polling stations and constituencies in all districts, the general conclusion is that these elections are taking place normally and in accordance with the electoral law and the instructions of the Central Electoral Commission. I think that one can reach this conclusion from the fact that, according to most recent reports, the general turnout has been about 79 percent. In the countryside it is about 1 percent higher, or 80 percent, while in the towns it is about 77 percent." Asked about the work of foreign election observers, Kore says: "The parliamentarians invited from various countries of the world have been invited for the precise purpose of observing the practical application of all the measures for the successful realization of free, pluralist, secret, and equal elections. Bearing in mind the purpose for which they have been invited, they have dispersed according to their own wishes to whichever places they thought best to watch and inspect these matters, and we are convinced that it will be seen that the measures that have been taken will ensure the genuine conduct of secret, equal, and general elections of a thoroughly democratic character."

Reporting on a news conference given by Central Electoral Commission Chairman Rexhep Mejdani, Koleci states that journalists mentioned to Mejdani that "some unstamped ballot papers have been found in the polling stations of Constituency 208 in Tirana. Rexhep Mejdani said that the commission had sent its representatives from the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, and other electoral participants to discuss the situation with the constituency Electoral Commission. After the ballot boxes are closed, the commission will decide how to act and will determine whether there is a need to repeat the election or not." Mejdani is reported as stating that the election results "will be ready tomorrow, or perhaps the day after, because the work demands time and a great deal of care," and that "there are no official reports" of the withdrawal of two electoral candidates in Elbasan.

The announcer states that the election in Tirana is taking place "in calm and total order everywhere." In short recorded interviews at polling stations, leaders of political parties give their views on the elections. Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha states: "Let only democracy come to Albania." Republican Party Chairman Sabri Godo states: "This first free election day means a new era for our people. I hope that everything will go well, and that everything will be done in accordance with the electoral law. It seems that everything so far is taking place according to the law, with small and insignificant exceptions." Council of Ministers' Chairman Fatos Nano states: "We are finally showing the world that we have a democratic culture, which will lead us to a realistic solution of our problems." "Many citizens" are reported to have waited for Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, to cast his vote. Against a background of rhythmic shouts of "Ramiz Alia," Alia states: "Just one word: May the 31 March elections be conducted successfully. This will be an event of great importance in the life of our people."

Lumturi Rexha, chairman of the Albanian Women's Union, and Lisen Bashkurti, Albanian Union Working Youth Central Committee first secretary, are also reported to have voted.

Telephone reports from Librazhd and Lezhe report on the "calm" and "festive" conduct of the elections. The "successful" conduct of the elections is also reported from Durres and Kruje.

'About 50,000' Rally for PDSh

AU2903175291 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Armin Wolf report from Tirana "via satellite telephone"]

[Excerpts] Tens of thousands of people are currently demonstrating on the premises of Tirana University for the Democratic Party of Albania [PDSh] and against the Communists. The demonstration was banned from the city center by the authorities, but innumerable people went on foot and by bicycle to the university premises, which are located outside the city.

About 50,000 people are said to be demonstrating, which is about one-third of the adult population of Tirana. They are enthusiastically waving the blue flags of the PDSh and shout again and again: 'Freedom and democracy!' 'Vote for the Democrats!' They are enthusiastically applauding when the speaker shouts: Ramiz Alia, the head of the Communist Party and president, has been lying for five years. Why should we believe him today?

Hundreds of people are standing on the roofs of the surrounding buildings, but there are hardly any policemen to be seen. The feared clashes between police and demonstrators have not yet taken place. Obviously, two days before the elections, the communists are not provoking the angry population any further. [passage omitted]

The current demonstration seems to confirm one thing clearly—namely, that Albania's larger towns are completely on the side of the opposition and here are on the side of the PDSh. [passage omitted]

Berisha Speaks at PDSh Rally

AU2903202691 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] organized a festive rally this afternoon in Democracy Square on the student campus to mark the first pluralist elections of 31 March. PDSh members and supporters, thousands of inhabitants of Tirana, and journalists from foreign news agencies, newspapers, and television stations who have come to our country were present.

The rally was opened by Professor Dr. Ylli Veseliu, chairman of the Managing Commission of the PDSh's Tirana Branch, who said among other things that we have come to this square, which has entered the country's history as the cradle of democracy, to unfold once again the flag of the PDSh and to call all citizens to national conciliation and love, not to revenge, and to work and construction, not strife and destruction.

A recording of the national anthem was then played, and the tune was taken up by those present at the rally.

PDSh Managing Commission Chairman Dr. Sali Berisha greeted the rally and said, among other things, that by voting for the PDSh on 31 March we will also vote for all the martyrs and heroes of our people and for all those who lived in dignity and to the honor of the Albanian lands. He evoked the distinguished traditions of our people for freedom, independence, democracy, knowledge, and culture, and spoke about the first free democratic and pluralist elections of 31 March, and our people's aspirations for a better future. Speaking about the foreign policy of democratic Albania, he stressed that the PDSh will seek Albania's integration into the EEC and will establish special relations with the United States, because the United States has wished for and wants a truly democratic Albania. Concluding his speech, Dr. Berisha invited the participants at the rally to vote for the candidates of the PDSh, because in this way they will vote for democracy.

Neritan Ceka, member of the PDSh's Managing Commission, read out the Democratic Party's list of Tirana District candidates for the People's Assembly.

The rally was then greeted by [name indistinct], who said that he had come from London in the name of the European Parliament. The rally was also greeted by Napoleon Roshi, who stressed among other things the traditions and wisdom of our people and their desire to be free. We are for national unity.

[Name indistinct] and Azem Hajdari, members of the PDSh Initiating Commission, and the well-known actress Marita Laja also greeted the many participants in the Democratic Party's festive rally, its members, and supporters.

Dr. Gramoz Pashko, member of the PDSh Initiating Commission, taking the rostrum at this rally, stressed among other things that a democratic Albania will solve the problem of Kosovo and those of the Albanian lands, including those of the Cams, wherever they are, because everything will be solved in accordance with European peace, in European (?prosperity), and with European support.

The rally, which took place in accordance with all the regulations, closed with the patriotic song "For the Motherland."

Council of Europe Election Observers Arrive

Received by Premier Nano

AU2903190391 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Fatos Nano, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received this morning the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe led by its deputy president, Marcelle Lentese-Cornette, and the delegation of the European Parliament of the European Community, led by Alexander Langer, the head of its parliamentary delegation for Albania, Bulgaria, and Romania, who will be present at the pluralist elections of 31 March.

Prime Minister Fatos Nano, after expressing his gratitude for the interest shown in Albania by these important European bodies, spoke about the situation in our country on the threshold of the pluralist elections of 31 March. It is important, he stressed, that the political will exists among all forces in Albania to transform society, with the aim of bringing it as close as possible to European and world levels. This process will be crowned by the first multiparty elections to be held in two days' time. The provisional government is also working for this end. The presence of such important bodies in our country at the elections is a major form of support for the new democracy in Albania, integrating Albania fully and with dignity in Europe.

Mrs. Lentese-Cornette, speaking in the name of the Council of Europe's delegation, expressed appreciation for Albania's commitment to democracy. She stressed among other things that the upcoming elections will be a test for the acceptance of Albania in the European relations that she represents.

Alexander Langer, head of the European Parliament's delegation, after mentioning the resolution on Albania recently approved by this body, expressed confidence that relations between Albania and the EEC will expand after the elections in all spheres. Albania and the EEC still do not have diplomatic relations, he said, but Albania's best ambassador to the Community has been its process of democratization.

Answering the parliamentarians' questions, Comrade Fatos Nano pointed out that democracy and the reforms undertaken in our country are irreversible. The prime minister responded to interest in the social consequences that could follow the introduction of the reforms by saying that priority in the future will be given to the principle that negative consequences in this process will be alleviated as far as possible, so that nobody in the future will call for turning back. As for political freedoms, he said, we will deepen the intensive legislative process we began three months ago when the new multiparty parliament is elected. Asked whether there will be reductions in military expenditure, Premier Fatos Nano replied that they will in the future be in accordance with the defensive strategy of our country, bearing in mind the end of the cold war in the world.

Fatos Nano stressed that stock exchanges may be opened in our country conditional on certain factors such as the creation of stockholding companies, the necessary banking system, etc. The trust the world should have in the truly irreversible nature of the reforms and the democratization of our country, Comrade Fatos Nano emphasized, relies on the fact that the Albanian Workers Party is a new force that has thoroughly reformed itself. At the same time, the fact that President Ramiz Alia is the initiator in constructing the necessary bridges for Albania's calm transition to the future is a further guarantee.

Aleks Luarasi, general secretary of the Council of Ministers, also took part in this reception, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Prime Minister Fatos Nano also received at a separate meeting today representatives of the German Bundestag's delegation, and informed his guests from the FRG about the situation in the country and the preparations for normal conduct of the elections. After expressing thanks for his welcome, Ulrich Irmer, the head of the German Bundestag's delegation, expressed his conviction that the Albanian Government is doing everything to guarantee the free and orderly conduct of the elections. We in Germany consider Albania to be an inseparable part of Europe. We are ready to offer our help at this difficult time for your economy. The German legislators then stressed that Albania needs the work of all its citizens. Unfortunately, some of them do not understand clearly that the streets of the West are not paved with gold. European reality and the scenes shown on television are not the same thing.

Premier Fatos Nano focused on an explanation of the main elements of the economic reform drafted by the government. He stressed that aid and investment of various kinds from the German side, such as in the mining and energy industries and agriculture, are welcome. In this context, we agree with the German proposal to revive existing government cooperation agreements. The two sides also discussed various international problems such as developments in the Balkans, Europe, and beyond.

In conclusion, Ulrich Irmer declared that he was very optimistic about the Albanian people's abilities to overcome their current difficult situation and to be integrated in Europe. The reception took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Christian (?Nakon), charge d'affaires ad interim of the FRG Embassy in Tirana, was also present.

Alia Hosts Reception for Observers

AU3003202391 Tirana ATA in English 1052 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—The chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia gave a cocktail in the Palace of Brigades on March 29, in the evening, in honour of the foreign delegations that have come in Albania to be present in the March 31 elections for deputies to the People's Assembly.

Attending it were members of the Presidential Council, the government, representatives of the political parties and other guests.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met with and greeted also the members of the delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the American Senator Claiborne Pell, of the French Parliament, the British Parliament, the German Parliament, the Austrian Parliament, the Greek Parliament, the Parliament of the Soviet Union, the Parliament of Romania, the delegation of the Democratic League of the Albanians of Croatia, members of the delegation of the Commission of the U.S. Congress of Helsinki, the delegation of the European Democratic Union.

Present were also heads of diplomatic representations accredited in our country.

Kapllani Meets European Observers

AU3003220191 Tirana ATA in English 2032 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—The foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, received on March 29 the delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, led by Marcelle Lentese-Cornette, vice chairwoman of the Council of Europe, and the delegation of the European Parliament of the European Community, led by Alexander Langer.

After evaluating the important role of these organisms in the present European developments, Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani informed those present that actually a profound and fast process is going on in Albania towards a pluralist democracy, the establishment of the legal state and the economy orientated towards market economy, which creates the base for the construction of a just society based also on the inheritance of the common European values. The foreign minister valued the presence of the Parliamentary Assembly, the European Parliament and other observers in the free multiparty elections of March 31 as a legitimate interest in and support for the irreversible process of the democratization of life in Albania.

On their part, the parliamentarians pointed out that the free elections and the course of this process open the way to establishment of a close cooperation of Albania with these two organisms, Albania's admission to the Council of Europe, and its full participation in the CSCE, for a close and all-sided cooperation with the European Community. Opinions were also exchanged with the parliamentarians concerning the relations of Albania with the other European countries and with the neighbouring countries in particular.

Italian, Other Election Observers Arrive

AU3103131791 Tirana ATA in English 0758 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Italian parliamentary delegation arrived in our country. It is composed of Domenico Amalfitano, Antonio Grazziani, Giovanna Chelotto, and Alberto Forni, who will observe the March 31 pluralist elections in Albania.

Present to receive it at Rinas Airport were the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, and functionaries at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Torquato Cardilli.

In the talk conducted in one of the airport's surroundings, Comrade Sihat Tozaj thanked on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly for the Italian Parliament's responding to the invitation and wished the delegation members welcome to our country. After speaking of the acceleration of the democratization processes of the country's life, he thanked the Italian Government for the support and assistance and underlined that, at this moment your presence in Albania testifies to the fact that Albania is sure in her march along the road of democratization and that it will help the realization of these processes.

The member of the Italian parliamentary delegation, Antonio Grazziani, after thanking for the invitation, laid emphasis on the ancient and new links between Italy and Albania, two neighbouring countries in the Adriatic. In Italy, he said, there is an Albanian community that has preserved its traditions and has served as a link between our two countries. The developments in Albania are followed with sympathy in Italy. I am convinced that you will reach successes. At the end of the talk, Antonio Grazziani said that he carried with himself the greetings of the president of the Italian Senate, Spadolini and of the president of the House of Parliament, Nilde Iotti.

Likewise the foreign parliamentary delegations that have arrived these days in our country are: the Greek parliamentary delegation headed by Thomas Kourtis; the Finnish parliamentary delegation headed by Osmo Lipponen; the Netherlands parliamentary delegation headed by Thanasis Apostolou; the Romanian parliamentary delegation headed by Aleksandru Breznicea; the delegation of the British Conservative group headed by the Lord Nicholas Bethell, as well as the delegation of the National Democratic Institute of the U.S.A., headed by Thomas O. Melia; the delegation of the National Republican Institute of the U.S.A., headed by Mary Catherine Andrews; the delegation of the Democratic League of the Albanians of Croatia, headed by Tome Berisha; the delegation of the European Democratic Union, headed by Rainer Stepan.

Tozaj Receives German, Soviet Observers

AU3003213191 Tirana ATA in English 2026 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—On March 29, before noon, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj received at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, in separate meetings, the delegation of the German Parliament, headed by Ulrich Irmer, and the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, headed by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, who have come to our country at the invitation of the Presidium of the People's Assembly to attend the multiparty elections of March 31 in Albania.

After wishing welcome to our country, Comrade Sihat Tozaj had a warm and friendly talk. He spoke on the new election law, the majority system, the measures adopted to conduct free, democratic and secret elections in the 250 precincts of the country. The presence of foreign parliamentary delegations in our country, he said, proves the fact that President Ramiz Alia and the Albanian Government are fully involved in conducting multiparty elections in Albania. He also spoke on the economic difficulties and the work carried out to overcome them, etc. The head of the delegation of German Parliament, Ulrich Irmer, and the head of the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Abdul-Rahman Vezirov, thanked for the invitation, the warm reception and expressed their confidence that after the free, multiparty elections, Albania will take firm steps to integrate itself with the European processes and to be admitted in the CSCE and other international organisms, etc.

During these meetings, responding to the questions of the members of the delegations, Comrade Sihat Tozaj spoke on problems of the election campaign, and other questions, such as on the defence of the rights of our Kosovo brothers, the treatment of the minority in Albania, the recent exodus, etc.

Kapllani Meets FRG, British Observers

AU3003215991 Tirana ATA in English 2029 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, received on march 29 the delegations of the parliament of the FRG, led by Ulrich Irmer; the British parliamentary delegation led by Stephen Norris; and the French parliamentary delegation led by Philippe Bassinet, who have come to Albania as observers in the March 31st elections, invited by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

During the separate meetings which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere they talked on the course of the political, economic and social reforms in Albania, the processes to integrate in Europe, they talked on the CSCE and the possibilities existing for the development of bilateral relations in these countries. They talked also on the situation in the Balkans and Yugoslavia.

Alia Holds News Conference on Country's Future

AU2903163191 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the People's Assembly, with unidentified foreign and domestic reporters in Tirana on 29 March]

[Text] First of all, Comrade Ramiz Alia, I wish to welcome you, representatives of the foreign press, news agencies, and world radio and television stations who have come to our country to follow the election campaign, and especially to be present on 31 March. I wish you success in your work and at the same time express my pleasure that you have come to Albania.

Answering the question of how confident he was of achieving victory on election day, Comrade Ramiz stressed that the main thing is that I am certain the elections will be free and democratic and will conclude in total success. There are different ideas about who will win.

Asked by a journalist about the path Albania will follow in the future, Comrade Ramiz answered that our country will always advance on the road of progress and development, on the road of democratization. This is the road on which we have embarked, and on which we will continue.

Journalists also asked Comrade Ramiz Alia how he explained the development of democracy in Albania, in what directions this development has moved, and what Albania will be like after the election.

As for the development of our country, he said, it will develop as up until now in all directions, in the economy, politics, and in the social field. Of course, it will perhaps develop faster in one direction than in another. The important thing is that development should be harmonious and correspond to Albania's real conditions, because our country does not aim to be an imitation of

one country or another. What will Albania be like after the election? I hope, Comrade Ramiz continued, that development will be fast, for the benefit and happiness of the people. As a peaceful country, we will always need friends in all countries of the world.

Journalists were then interested in learning about the changes that will be inaugurated by the next congress of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh], and whether they will be similar to those in Eastern Europe. First, Comrade Ramiz stressed, I wish to say that the reports circulating among news agencies that the party will change its name are not true. I think that the PPSh has a very nice name. Second, other changes involve adapting the PPSh to today's conditions of development. As for Eastern Europe, Eastern Europe has dealt with and will continue to deal with its own business, regardless of Albania.

Albania, he stressed later, won its own independence under the leadership of Enver Hoxha. In case there are those who do not know this, they should bear in mind that we are the only country in Europe to have liberated itself without the arrival of a single foreign soldier in World War II. Enver Hoxha was the commander of our Armed Forces, and the transformations accomplished on our road of development were also carried out under his leadership. If (?anybody says) that there were also mistakes in Enver Hoxha's work, I would say that there is no political party, no political personality, and no human being who does not at some time in his life view one issue or another incorrectly.

As for the changes that may be made in the PPSh's program and in the programs of other parties, Comrade Ramiz continued, I do not think this is the place to discuss them. The programs have been published, and each person may judge them. I hope, however, that all the Albanian political parties will strive for the people's prosperity, freedom and independence, and the cause of the unity of the Albanian people. We are a small country and a small people, and therefore require the unity of all political forces, regardless of their programs.

Replying to a question on how the election campaign is being conducted in our country, Comrade Ramiz said that so far the campaign has been conducted normally. All the political parties and other electoral participants have had the opportunity to conduct their own activity. Let us not forget that this is the first time that [word indistinct] elections have taken place in Albania. There is therefore a need for greater need for tolerance on the part of all political forces.

President Ramiz Alia was also asked what problems exist between Albania and Israel. We have always judged that the problem in connection with Israel [words indistinct]. Albania has maintained a humane attitude toward the Jews, and not a single Jew was handed over to the Germans during the years of the War. Israel, Comrade Ramiz says, has problems with the Arabs and not with the Albanians. Seen from this angle, I think that the solution of these problems must be reached in the interests of both sides.

Another journalist asked what the PPSh will do if it does not win the 31 March elections. The PPSh, if it loses the elections, which I hope it will not, will do what any serious party must do and accept the will of the people.

In connection with prisoners in Albania, Comrade Ramiz said that our country has in the last year [words indistinct] restricting freedom of conscience and expression. As a result, since last July, a (?large) number of prisoners have been released, and the final contingent was released a short time ago. Some present prisoners have committed (?murders) and terrorist acts, which no legislative system in the world (?excuses) for political motives. Nevertheless, Comrade Ramiz stressed, the justice services are charged with examining in detail various petitions for the release of prisoners.

Another question asked by journalists was whether socialism is Albania's only road of development. Comrade Ramiz Alia said that our main goal has been and remains to realize socialist ideals. The road of our country's development has passed through various stages, and it is logical that new problems have emerged and will continue to emerge. These problems must be responded to in the appropriate way. Albania in the future, too, he said, will adapt the realization of socialist ideals to the situations that will arise.

In connection with the question Comrade Ramiz Alia was asked about the Kosovo and Yugoslav problem, he replied that we first of all wanted and will always (?want) peaceful relations with Yugoslavia. [words indistinct] the problem of Kosovo and the Albanians living there [words indistinct] the rights of a people like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia. The attitude of the Albanian Government has always been correct, he said, in support of our Kosovar brothers. This attitude corresponds to the national cause, and the future government will be faithful to this goal. The cause of Kosovo is sacred to every Albanian.

Asked by a journalist about the Albanian exodus to Italy, he said this was an extremely tragic event. It was painful for the Albanian people and (?caused difficulties) for the Italian people. The introduction of military control in the port of Durres was aimed at preventing a repetition of such bitter events. I believe, Comrade Ramiz said, that the mania for flight will vanish, and other, larger, and more important problems will become central to relations between Albania and Italy.

Leaving the news conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia once again thanked all those present and bade them a cordial farewell.

Discusses Current Policies

LD3003104691 Tirana ATA in English 0906 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Tirana, March 30 (ATA)—Before noon [on 29 March], the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz 'Alia held at the press center at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana, a press conference

for the reporters of the ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, radio, television and press organs as well as for reporters of news agencies, radio, television and press organs from the European countries, the USA, Japan [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Concerning the relations with the Soviet Union, he stated that it is of importance to consider the future of strengthening them to the interest of both countries. Our policy with Yugoslavia is peaceful, Comrade Ramiz Alia said an added that we are for good relations, but there is the great problem of Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Our opinion is that they are oppressed and do not enjoy the rights and freedoms as the other nations of Yugoslavia. The present Albanian Government and the governments to be formed in the future will unreservedly back up the national cause of all the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

With regard to the exodus of the Albanians to Italy, he said that this is a tragedy and great pain for the Albanian people and a great worry for the Italian people. After speaking of the measures adopted to prevent such events, he thanked the Italian people and Government for what they did and are doing for the Albanians who emigrated to Italy and expressed also the desire and confidcence that in the future, in the foundation of the relations of Albania with Italy lie major more important problems, which will make up the essence of our relations with Italy. [passage omitted]

Democratic Party Officials Outline Policies

AU2903135691 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Armin Wolf report from Tirana]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Certain of victory, the doctor Sali Berisha, the charismatic chairman of the Democratic Party, dashed to a news conference with at least 150 international journalists yesterday evening. Self-confident, the hefty Berisha did not accept any of the reporters' doubts. There is no doubt that we will win the elections, this is completely clear, he thundered into the hall. On what is his optimism based? This is quite simple, Berisha said. The people do not want communism any longer, they want democracy, so they have to vote for us, he said. He does not accept the three other opposition parties. The Democrats regard themselves as the only true opposition, after all they were the first noncommunist party in the country. An anticommunist coalition might be formed with the Republicans, said Berisha, who at once stated idignantly: Why should we form a coalition at all? We will get an absolute majority anyway.

There are no Albanian opinion polls that could confirm this optimism. A duel between the communist Workers Party PPSh] and the Democrats is expected, however, though with advantages for the PPSh. [passage omitted]

The Democrats complained yesterday about major impediments in the election campaign. Several candidates in the country were beaten in the past few days, they said. Almost all of them receive threatening letters and telephone calls. In the capital, Tirana, for example, one of the Democrats only five cars was destroyed.

In view of the numerous international observers and journalists in the country, however, they believe that the elections will be largely fair. What are their first steps after a possible electoral victory? First, all political prisoners must be released, said party spokesman Genc Pollo, a young archeologist, who speaks German, English, and French fluently. Then the urgent economic measures must follow; however, the Democrats do not yet know what kind of measures they will be. Their magic word is privatization. Everything is to be privatized, but nobody knows who has the necessary capital to do this in the poorest country of Europe.

Moreover, the state should economize, it was stated. The military expenses, as well as the allowances for the Workers Party, are to be cut. We simply cannot afford expensive and rich parties any longer, Chairman Berisha said laughingly. We need apartments.

One of the few completely clear statements of the Democrats is the clear rejection of a coalition with the Communists. This is not possible under any conditions, it was stated. [passage omitted]

Electoral Commission's Mejdani Meets Senators

AU2903142891 Tirana ATA in English 1026 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 29 (ATA)—On March 28 before noon the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani met in one of the surroundings of the Palace of Congresses with the group of the U.S. senators and congressmen, headed by the Senator Dennis DeConcini, chairman of the Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At the beginning Rexhep Mejdani briefed the U.S. guests on the Electoral Law, the work and structure of the Central Electoral Commission he presides. After pointing out that the commission is pluralist, just as the commissions of the elections precincts are, he said that an intensive work is made to instruct the voters for the first multiparty elections in the country. Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani made evident various directions of conducting the electoral campaign and underlined that the electoral propaganda will be stopped on the day of elections.

Responding to the questions by the Senator DeConcini on the way of observing the elections by the electoral subjects, on questions of communication as well as questions of electoral propaganda, Prof. Dr. Rexhep Mejdani said that in every polling center, the various electoral subjects have the right to have their observers besides their representatives in the commissions. He underlined that every action by the commissions will be carried out with regular process-verbals [as received] and that the electoral propaganda is carried out in a correct and equal way for all the electoral subjects.

Regarding the question of the Congressman Richardson on the foreign observers, he said that we appreciate their presence to help or make suggestions and underlined that it has become possible to invite as much parliamentary observers and foreign reporters as our state can.

At the end of the meeting the Senator DeConcini thanked for the reception extended to him, assessed the work made by the Central Electoral Commission and the importance of the first pluralist elections and wished they come out successful, expressing his belief that this possibility exists.

Opposition Says 277 Political Prisoners Freed

AU3003155591 Paris AFP in English 1508 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 30 (AFP)—Albanian authorities on Friday liberated 277 political prisoners who had been serving jail terms of over 20 years, a spokesman for the opposition Human Rights Forum said on Saturday. The prisoners had been held for charges ranging from "economic sabotage" to "spying," said film-maker Kujtim Casku, speaking for the Forum.

Albanian authorities announced on March 17 that all political prisoners in the country had been released, but a U.S. delegation which came to observe the March 31 elections here said on Thursday that close to 300 political prisoners were still being held. Among those set free were geologists who had spent 15 years in prison for having contradicted former hardline communist leader Enver Hoxha over the country's oil reserves. Also released were participants in violent protests which took place in December and in demonstrations in August in the city of Shkoder during which a statue of Stalin was pulled down.

Kapllani Receives Soviet Parliamentary Delegation

AU3103131491 Tirana ATA in English 0827 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 31 (ATA)—On March 30 before noon, the minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, received the Soviet parliamentary delegation, headed by the member of the Parliament's Foreign Commission and of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union, Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov.

After wishing it welcome, Muhamet Kapllani spoke to them on the democratic processes and the importance of the March 31 pluralist elections. He pointed to Albania's resolution to march on this road in the context of the European and international democratic processes.

On his part, the head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation spoke on the development of the reforms in the Soviet Union, as well as on problems and hardships encountered in this road.

Both parties expressed their readiness to develop the relations of cooperation between the two countries under the new conditions following the reestablishment of the diplomatic relations.

Alia, Others Receive U.S. Senator Pell

AU3003202491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Commission, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly this morning.

After expressing his pleasure at this meeting, Comrade Ramiz Alia said that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and the United States will lead to the development of greater ties of cooperation to the benefit of both countries.

For his part, Senator Pell said that he too hoped that our relations will be better in the future. Assessing the first pluralist elections in Albania, he said that tomorrow is a historic day for the Albanian people. Comrade Ramiz Alia said that we too consider it a great event in the country's political life.

Professor Dr. Rexhep Mejdani, member of the Presidential Council, and Muhamet Kapllani, minister of foreign affairs, were also present at this conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Alia Receives British Parliamentary Delegation

AU3003202491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia received the British parliamentary delegation led by Stephen Norris this morning.

Comrade Ramiz Alia conducted a warm and friendly conversation with the British Members of Parliament. He spoke to them about the importance of the 31 March elections, the first pluralist elections in Albania, which mark one of the culminating points of the democratic process in our country. Comrade Ramiz Alia and the British legislators stressed the importance of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and Britain and the expansion of economic and trade cooperation, which is now under discussion. They also spoke about the opportunities for Albania's further integration in European processes and our country's cooperation with the Council of Europe and other bodies.

Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani was also present at the reception.

Prime Minister Assesses Government Performance

AU3103171491 Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—"I am optimistic not only because of the first 100 days of the government but also because of the people's confidence in our actions, in our good will and in the positive results," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov stated today in his one-hour interview for the radio and the television.

He spoke in detail about the course of the reform which was started in the extremely hard conditions of "maze and despair" by a cabinet formed 100 days ago through an agreement between the political forces. For these 100 days Mr. Popov's cabinet abrogated partly or entirely 154 governmental decrees, 39 instructions and 45 resolutions. It passed 57 new decrees, 5 instructions and 69 resolutions. It endorsed 17 bills and 16 have already been moved in parliament. It also endorsed 6 contracts, 5 agreements and 3 memorandums.

In connection with the new parliamentary elections Mr. Popov pointed out (with the reservation that he is not pressing his view on any one) that they cannot be held before the new constitution is passed. If by April 15 parliament passes the bills moved by the government on local authorities, the local elections may be held on June 16 or June 23.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said that in its actions his government prioritizes two tasks: to complete the peaceful transition from totalitarian dictatorship to democracy in Bulgaria and to carry out the economic reform. Mr. Popov pointed out explicitly that the ministers in his cabinet have common principled stands on the major problems which require measures.

We are carrying out our program in progress, fighting all that brought Bulgaria to this formidable economic decline: Thus Mr. Popov answered the reproaches that his cabinet lacks strategy. He also outlined the second stage of the reform: Demonopolization of the state structures in economy (which make up 97 percent of it), it will be followed by decentralization of the companies and privatization. The Ministry of Industry, Trade and Services has already done tremendous preparatory work. The changes will get underway as soon as next month but privatization is a process, not an act, Mr. Popov stressed. Our purpose is to build a stable, powerful layer of middle-producers, middle-businessmen, a middle class.

The Prime Minister spoke in detail about Bulgaria's foreign policy and about his cabinet's efforts to start improving Bulgaria's image in the eyes of the outside world. There has already been acknowledged the presence of conditions under which Bulgaria can be trusted and accepted as a partner, Mr. Popov said in connection with the agreement with the International Monetary Fund. Other international organizations have reacted too: the World Bank, the European Communities, G-24 and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Credit lines have been opened for Bulgaria. More are to be opened through Italy, France and Germany. Bulgaria has already been granted credits and was promised more at a collective estimate of almost 2 billion dollars.

Bulgaria has a clear foreign policy, Mr. Popov pointed out. His cabinet follows and will follow a polyvalent, versatile policy, based on equality and mutual interest, with no subordination and dependence. Among the priorities in Bulgaria's foreign policy the prime minister mentioned the relations with the states and institutions of Europe, the United States, Japan, Canada and the USSR. We are laying a special accent on the relations with the United States and the USSR without any unfavorable impact on our relations with the European states, he pointed out. As regards the Balkan policy, Mr. Popov said that we are striving for good neighborly relations, breadth and depth of goodwill and friendliness like those already achieved with Greece.

Cabinet Reviews 'First 100 Days'

AU3003201791 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—The negotiations on Bulgaria's integration with the European Communities will start by the end of the year, Mr. Atanas Paparizov, minister of foreign economic relations, said at a press conference with members of the cabinet which was held here today in connection with the cabinet's first 100 days.

Mr. Paparizov pointed out that the integration will be a long process. We cannot abolish customs duties now because we are not competitive, he said. The first step should be made by Brussels and Sofia will respond after a transition period of 5-6 years, the minister explained.

According to Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev, the reform is a fact. He spoke of the government's measures for monetary balance and stabilization of the market which have already led to some results. After the liberalization of prices in February the prices of the essentials were 20 per cent higher than the prognosticated ones, but they dropped 8 per cent below the level expected for March, Mr. Ludzhev said.

The government has so far cancelled 240 anachronistic statutory acts of the former cabinets and issued over 120 new ones, aimed at building a market economy. Mr. Ludzhev defined the social and political nature of what happens now in Bulgaria as "change of the system." He pointed out the rise of the country's international prestige, it is now compared to Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Mr. Ludzhev pointed out the importance of the preservation of the political and social stability as a key to the success of the second stage of the reform: the economic restructuring.

According to the minister of industry, trade and services, Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, the restructuring will start by the end of April by the start of the so-called "small privatization" of establishments in trade and services and by decentralization and demonopolization of the state sector which now controls 95 per cent of the economy. The demonopolization of the giant companies once created through administrative resolutions and controlling entire branches of the economy will be carried out in a democratic way. Commissions comprising representatives of the companies, the banks and the government already work in the first 15 establishments which the minister declined to list. The commissions are working on projects for reasonable separation of the "daughter" [subsidiary] branches as separate companies. But the government will encourage their future uniting in more powerful (but not monopolistic) groups on economic grounds, the minister explained.

The press conference touched upon the specific conduct of the companies. According to Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev, they can be divided into two groups. Those from the first group are actively rebuilding their structures to prepare for the troubled waters of the market economy while the others are nostalgic about the "good old times" and their inadequate behavior obstructs the changes. Our hope is that the first group will grow, he said.

BSP Radical Faction Conference Reported

AU3103130591 Sofia BTA in English 2154 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Plovdiv, March 30 (BTA)—The Third National Conference of the Movement for Radical Changes in the Socialist Party which unites different groups and movements calling themselves Radicals was held in one of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] club here.

The conference had the ambition to adopt a program for practical actions and later table it for discussion at a plenum of the Supreme Council of the BSP. The political section of the program, however, raised serious disputes, so in the end only the economic section was endorsed in principle. It recommends "smooth transition" to market economy and rejects the restoration of the model from before the communist rule. It also introduces the term "selective demonopolization" and offers "partial" compensation of owners for their nationalized property.

The radicals' ambitions were influenced by Chavdar Kyuranov's speech. He announced that according to a poll the BSP is believed to be a party of the rich and that was a surprise for him. He also pointed out that the BSP will have to consider the structural changes in its membership. Further on he opposed the too radical statements, especially the one saying that it is not that important to win the next elections. He stressed that for "numerous" members of the party that would be a threat for their physical survival. He stated that there is a danger of revenge-seeking and neo-fascism, i.e. he put in motion the effects used by the BSP in the previous election campaign which secured the party's unity.

BTA Poll on Forces Behind Reform

AU3103165591 Sofia BTA in English 1542 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—The poll organized by the BTA about the economic reform showed that its chief driving force is the government. This opinion is supported by 193 of the respondents. 107 of the respondents believe that the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] is the driving force, 82 think it is the Grand National Assembly, 25—that it is the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], 4—that it is the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and 6—that it is the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

When asked whether they believe in the success of the economic reform, 252 of the respondents answered positively, 136—negatively, and 52 had no opinion on the matter.

Opinions differ also on the time necessary for stirring up the economy. 44 of the respondents believe that this is possible in 6 months, 121 think it will take a year, and the largest group (241) says it will take two or more years. 34 of the respondents could offer no assessment. There are some pessimists (from the town of Silistra) who say that we will be able to talk about market economy after four years or more.

The respondents were somewhat confused by some complementary questions in the poll but here are the answers to the question about the most serious obstacles for the reform: "Imperfect legislation,"— 212, "political polarization in society,"— 114, "the caution of foreign investors,"—23, "Bulgarians are not industrious enough,"—81, "initiative has been suppressed for years,"— 33, "the local nomenklatura,"—50.

The poll of the BTA does not claim to be representative. It is intended to see how things stand in public opinion. It was carried out by the regional correspondents and reporters in Sofia with 450 respondents. There were representatives of almost all major regions of Bulgaria.

Different Views Within SDS on Elections Date

AU3103130991 Sofia BTA in English 2138 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—New parliamentary elections must be held by mid-June at the latest: This is the attitude which prevailed, though with difficulty, at the meeting of the National Coordinating Council, of representatives of councils from the country and MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

In a special declaration it points out that with the delay of the new parliamentary elections the non-observance of the agreement between the political forces will be complete.

The SDS pointed out once again its strategic goal: change of the political and the economic system in Bulgaria. It blames the Socialist Party for the slackened pace of the democratic processes due to the non-observance of the agreement. The declaration lays concrete charges: Socialists failed to give the truth about their guilt for the catastrophe, they did not give their property back to its rightful owners, only two of the 13 legislative acts envisaged in the agreement were passed in parliament due to their majority and no access was allowed to the archives.

The declaration explicitly states support for the government but asks the ministers from the SDS to tell what the situation was like when they came into office.

According to statements of participants in the meeting, the opposition in the country insists much more on holding the parliamentary elections in June. In the leadership, however, opinions differ: Ecoglasnost (one of the influential organizations in the SDS), the Green Party and, it seems, the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party are for the delay of the elections. Many of the MP's are also for the preservation of the present parliament.

Today's meeting cannot form the final stand of the SDS on the elections. The decision will be probably taken on Monday by the Coordinating Council. But it is an open secret that the opinions of the council and the parliamentary opposition groups differ on many issues, chiefly on the elections.

BZNS To Run as Independent in Elections

AU3003220291 Sofia BTA in English 2110 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) will take part in the coming elections as an absolutely independent political force on the side of all opposition democratic forces, against the monopoly of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] on power, Mr. Ivan Glushkov, member of the Standing Committee, stated at today's meeting of the party's Ruling Council.

He said that the BZNS will not take a centrist position because in the present polarization of political forces this may prove fatal and the BZNS may lose part of its electorate in both directions: towards the BSP and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. This is exactly what happened in the previous elections: The BZNS tried to play the part of the center and won just 8 per cent of the seats in parliament. In the second round the BZNS appealed to its supporters to vote for the SDS in the proportional system. According to Mr. Glushkov, they now have to correct one more mistake from the former elections: As a political force the BZNS has been subjected to the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (now BSP) for 45 years, it must now show clearly and unequivocally that it has distanced itself from the BSP and is an opposition force. Referring to the results of polls, he assumed that the drop of popularity of the two major political forces, the BSP and the SDS, may turn out to be in favour of the BZNS. Being a moderate democratic party, the BZNS may attract many of the disappointed supporters of the BSP and the SDS.

As regards the time of the new elections, which is now a subject of disputes, the BZNS has taken a firm stand that the local elections are to be held in June and the parliamentary elections are to be held in late September or early October. The BZNS believes that the Grand National Assembly must complete its major task: to pass the constitution by mid-summer and then dissolve itself.

The parliamentary BZNS thinks that parliament has started working with more confidence. It has so far passed over 40 legislative acts, said Ms. Elena Kircheva, spokesman for the parliamentary BZNS.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 30 March, in reporting today's meeting of the BZNS Administrative Council in Sofia, adds the following: "At a meeting behind closed doors, the BZNS Administrative Council acquainted itself with a report from the commission on establishing political guilt and responsibility of BZNS figures during the 1947-89 period and for material damage caused to the state and the BZNS. According to a BZNS spokesman, the results will be publicized no earlier than Monday."]

ASO Intends To Join Opposition Bloc

AU3103160391 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Mar 91 p 3

[Excerpts] "The ASO Political Council welcomes the decision of the Union of Democratic Forces, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Movement of Rights and Freedoms to establish an united opposition in Bulgaria, and expresses its readiness to join it," a declaration submitted to our editorial board reads. [passage omitted]

While preserving their organizational independence the parties and organizations of the united opposition will be able to defend their own ideological platforms and programs in the name of a common goal—namely changing the political and social system, and guaranteeing the country's prosperity.

ASO supports the idea of holding elections in June 1991. The period preceding this dateline is sufficiently long for adopting the constitution and the basic economic laws without interrupting the process of the reform.

We call on all our members and supporters on a local scale to join their efforts in building the structures of an united, new opposition, the declaration further states.

Opposition Rejects Soviet Statement About Trials

AU2903170691 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Bulgaria's most influential opposition coalition, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), protested the Soviet Foreign Ministry statement released yesterday which described the trials of former party and state chiefs in the East European ex-Socialist countries as "persecution of non-conformists."

The statement was considered today at a special meeting of the SDS Coordinating Council. SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev said that the Coordinating Council considers the Soviet Foreign Ministry's statement as interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs.

"Furthermore, this is a cynical insult to the feelings of millions of Bulgarians who expect the Law to give them moral remedy for their ruined lives in the decades of Communist dictatorship, for the suffering, privations and humiliations," the SDS spokesman's special statement emphasizes. It says that besides Erich Honecker, "Kremlin's occupants would gladly harbor in Moscow other loyal vassals who know too much about the constant brutal interference in the life of the "brother nations" in the so-called "socialist camp."

The SDS sides with the struggle of the democratic Russia opposition political forces against attempts by the USSR central government to settle inter-republican and interstate problems by brute force. The SDS hopes that the truly democratic parties ruling the individual republics will soon become its partners in a fruitful international cooperation.

The Bulgarian opposition takes the opportunity to state that it will press for yet another political trial if the disclosure by former KGB General Kalugin proves true. It transpired yesterday that Bulgaria's former Minister of the Interior Dimitur Stoyanov requested help from the KGB for the killing of Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov in London in 1978. "At that trial, the former interior minister will be accompanied in the dock by the shades of his patrons and inspirers of the school of Feliks Dzherzhinskiy and his disciples Yagoda, Yezhov, Beria and Andropov," the SDS spokesman said.

Today's "DUMA" quotes former Minister of the Interior Dimitur Stoyanov as denying the allegation contained in Kalugin's interview for Radio Liberty. Mr. Stoyanov insists that he never approached Andropov and Kryuchkov, the incumbent KGB chief, about KGB help for Markov's elimination.

New Military, Security Doctrine Analyzed

AU2903172491 Sofia BTA in English 1530 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Bulgaria will be seeking guarantees for its national security through improved relations with its Balkan neighbors, by keeping the positive aspects of its relations with its East European partners, including the Soviet Union included [as received), bilateral treaties will shortly be signed with all this countries, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, the president's spokesman, said at a briefing today.

He pointed out that President Zhelev believes that the main guarantee for Bulgaria's national security is its internal stability.

This week the National Security Council held two meetings. The council is a consultative body, attended by the minister of defense, the minister of the interior, the minister of foreign affairs, and sometimes by economic ministers. The council's secretary, Colonel General Kamen Petrov, said that at its latest meeting the council considered a possible Bulgarian participation in clearing the mine-fields in Kuwait and in the Gulf.

The national security problems arise from the swift changes in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the traditional guarantees: the Warsaw Treaty, the CMEA (as long as security is related to economics) and the USSR which is now preoccupied with its own problems at home, the president's spokesman pointed out.

The Standing Parliamentary Committee on National Security has had talks at the office of the president. Today President Zhelev discussed the matter with the Union of Commissioned and Noncommissioned Officers of the Reserve. The union is working on its own national security concept and on a new Bulgarian military doctrine.

The National Security Council will discuss Bulgaria's military doctrine in the new conditions in May or June. Apart from the Union of Commissioned and Noncommissioned Officers of the Reserve, the Ministry of Defense, the Bulgarian Academy Of Sciences and the Rakovski Legion have also worked out their versions of a national security concept.

The president's spokesman also announced that the question concerning a future Bulgaro-Soviet bilateral treaty was raised at President Zhelev's meeting with Bulgaria's new ambassador to Moscow Mr. Vladimir Velchev. Both Bulgaria and the USSR are working on their own drafts of the treaty. It will be similar to the treaties which the USSR already signed with Romania and with Turkey. In connection with the treaty President Zhelev discussed with Mr. Velchev the new trends in Bulgaro-Soviet relations, the president's spokesman said.

BSP Supplement to Document on Guilt Issue

AU2903222891 Sofia BTA in English 2042 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Today the Supreme Council of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the party's Auditing Commission released for publication a

supplement to the political declaration on the party's political responsibility for the social crisis and the culprits for the mistakes and abuses. The supplement repeats familiar assessments and conclusions and elaborates in four chapters on the reasons for the political crisis and the party's responsibility, the economic crisis and the crisis in the intellectual sphere and the abuses within the party.

The supplement lists several dozens of names but makes no mention of any incumbent BSP leader. The most often mentioned name is Todor Zhivkov. Most of the former leaders have already been named since November 10, 1989 on different occasions as culprits for the crisis. In connection with the forcible change of ethnic Turks' names, the supplement blames Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Milko Balev, Georgi Dzhagarov and Georgi Tanev.

The Supreme Council acknowledges that the highest echelon of party and state leaders is particularly responsible for the misguided economic policy but does not identify any culprits with the exception of the ex-prime ministers, a dozen of ex-ministers' and party functionaries'.

Mitko Grigorov, Milko Balev, Lyudmila Zhivkova, Yordan Yotov, Georgi Yordanov and Georgi Dzhagarov are mentioned in connection with the abuses in the intellectual sphere.

The supplement recalls that since November 10, 1989, a total of 3,500 members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (now BSP) have been expelled from the party.

Security Archives Commission Chairman Interviewed

AU2903141291 Sofia BTA in English 1110 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Tambuev, chairman of the Commission of enquiry which is investigating the MP's who worked for the former State Security services, moved for reading the report of the commission at an open parliamentary session.

"Each case of cooperation with the State Security is different. It will be a big mistake to disclose the list of informants 'en bloc.' Some people were recruited in prisons and labour camps under a cruel Beria-style regime and it is only but natural to show a bit of sympathy for them," Mr. Tambuev said in an interview for "TRUD." Others were recruited much later. They were free to make their own choice and they opted to work for the State Security.

In answer to a question about the "disappearance" of the archives of the State Security Department 6 which functioned as a political police spying on the members and leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Tambuev said that a BSP top nomenklatura member was involved in the "incident," against whom legal proceedings should be initiated.

"DEMOKRATSIYA" runs the declaration of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] urging that not only the police files of the State Security informants, but those of all the MP's should be opened within a week. The UDF leadership cites the names of BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] MP's whose police files the UDF Coordinating Council considers to be of particular interest.

Retired General Allegedly Acting as KGB Link

AU3003205891 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 30 Mar 91

[From BTA review of Sofia press on 30 March]

[Text] Sofia, March 30 (BTA)—"DEMOKRATSIYA" carries an extensive biographic article about General Vladimir Todorov (retired), one of the three generals who are suspected of having destroyed the file of Georgi Markov, the emigre writer murdered in London in 1978. For many years Todorov was first deputy chief of the intelligence and was in charge of Western Europe, the United States, Canada and Japan. Although he has retired, Todorov keeps visiting the National Intelligence Service. There is a suspicion that he is a link between the Bulgarian National Intelligence Service and its recent advisors from the KGB who now reside in the Soviet Embassy. The general opinion is that many of the interesting files of the intelligence have been transferred to this embassy, "DEMOKRATSIYA" says. Perhaps the Markov file is also among them, although the general claims to have destroyed it because, as he said, there was nothing interesting in it. According to "DEMOKRATSIYA" the "regeneration process" and about the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II are also weighing on General Todorov's conscience. [sentence as received]

Yesterday the efforts of a reporter from "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" to get in touch with the ex-Minister of the Interior Dimitur Stoyanov to ask him to confirm the statement he made for "DUMA" (that he had never asked for the KGB's help for the murder of Georgi Markov) remained fruitless. This is the opposite of what General Kalugin from the KGB told Radio Free Europe the day before yesterday. "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" supposes that when he called Kalugin a collaborator of the British secret service he was mixing him up with Gordiyevskiy. The attempts of "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" to get in touch with Kalugin himself on the telephone remained abortive too.

Government Delays Submitting Budget to Assembly

AU3103185991 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 27 Mar 91 p 2

[Katya Karagyaurova and Katya Yaneva report on 26 March session of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia]

[Text] A worker is not paid for the time during which he has ceased to fulfill his labor obligations because of participation in a strike. This is the sense of the amendment to Paragraph 1 of Article 18 of the Law on Settling Collective Labor Disputes that the assembly adopted at its session held on 27 March.

During this period, participants in strikes will be able to receive compensation payments from strike funds or from the trade unions.

The submission to the assembly of the bill on the structure, composition, and implementation of the state budget was postponed to 30 April. The Council of Ministers was supposed to submit the bill before 15 March. The deputies accepted the prime minister's argument that additional studies had to be made to draft the bill.

The 1991 State Budget and the bill on the composition and implementation of the budget will probably be considered together, although the government was supposed to defend its new budget proposals at the beginning of April.

Budget Commission Chairman Rumen Georgiev stated that chaos reigns in the country regarding the implementation of the budget. He considered that 30 April is the final deadline that we can allow ourselves, and that if the government holds up the bill, it will block the reform.

The debate on a resolution on disposing of confiscated or nationalized cooperative properties was postponed until Thursday 28 March because difficulties had emerged in editing the text.

Due to reasons unclear to all, yesterday's assembly session was shadowed by expectations of tension. According to deputies and journalists, one of the signs of this was the appearance of President Zhelyu Zhelev. The expectations were not fulfilled.

During the debate on the agenda, members voted down the proposal of Georgi Markov, member of the Union of Democratic Forces, that the Commission on the Files of Members of the National Assembly should make a report. Markov accused the commission chairman, Georgi Tambuev, of reporting information in the form of an article in POGLED, which refers to a report in the newspaper, TELEGRAF, that Georgi Markov is one of the 28 legislative members with secret files. "I sleep soundly, gentlemen, because I have never been a Communist and have never aided the Communists," Markov said, but he did not deny the report.

Before the session began, members stood in silence for one minute in memory of Elisaveta Bagryana [famous poetess who died on 23 March].

Private Firm Offers To Finance Zhivkov Trial

AU3103165491 Sofia BTA in English 1545 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 31 (BTA)—The privately owned "Okan" Firm offers to cover the fees of the defense of Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev. BTA's reporter asked Mr. Halis Okan [spelling as received], the firm's president, about the motives for this gesture and if it means a grant for Zhivkov and Balev.

Mr. Okan said that regardless of his conviction that the defendants' relatives are not out of funds, when he heard that the family assets in the bank had been blocked he thought that the normal course of the trial might be disturbed if the assets were not released and this might obstruct the revealing of the truth.

The firm has already given grants to the Childhood Foundation and the Old Age Fund, it sponsors art and sport establishments.

Kozloduy Problems Following Soviet's Departure

AU3103161091 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 25 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Valeri Vedov article: "A Sarcophagus, Green Field, or New Lease of Life"]

[Text] Now, in the largest Soviet enterprise constructed in Bulgaria—the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant—one can count the numbers of Soviet specialists on the fingers of one's hands. The Soviet operators left the plant at the most critical time, before the commissioning of the No. 6 Generating Unit. They had come from various nuclear power plants in the Soviet Union and trained here for a further three or four months on operating units like the 1,000-megawatt unit at Kozloduy. They would not have gone home if the leadership of our nuclear energy industry had agreed to pay them after 1 April in foreign currency, according to Soviet proposals.

The argument that the state will not be able to pay such a large amount in foreign currency can be countered by asking one basic question: How much will the state lose as a result of the delay in commissioning the No. 6 Unit? Will the saving of peanuts not turn out very expensive?

The absence of the Soviet specialists will undoubtedly hamper the work of bringing the 1000-megawatt unit into service. Our specialists are still far too few and unprepared for such highly responsible operational work. As the leaders of the Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust admit, the commissioning of the No. 6 Unit represents an exceptional test, as compared with previous ones. Bearing in mind the imperfections of much of the equipment outside the reactor area and the frequent breakdowns of a number of assemblies, we can well imagine the state of the 1,000-megawatt

unit. The Bulgarian specialists have to take over much of the uncompleted work, and will have to work exceptionally hard. Additionally, they will have to prepare for the complex work of operating the unit after it has been commissioned. These are only some of the problems arising, but they provide sufficient grounds for Zakhari Boyadzhiev, chairman of the Nuclear Energy Industry Economic Trust, to state that it is impossible to meet the declared commissioning date of 15 April for the No. 6 Unit.

The No. 5 Unit will shortly be shut down for recharging with nuclear fuel and for urgent overhaul, which according to the most optimistic forecasts will take four months. For some time, our nuclear energy industry will have to rely solely on the first four units, each of 440 megawatts capacity. They were built according to what may be the oldest design project in Europe, and were designed to meet quite different operational safety requirements. Questions are already being raised about their future. For the time being, they operate under so-called special conditions.

Throughout the world, several ways are known of dealing with obsolete nuclear power units that no longer correspond to requirements. The first is called the "green field" method, which implies that the unit is removed completely, leaving a vacant site. The second method is familiar from the Chernobyl tragedy—the unit is encased in a so-called concrete sarcophagus.

There is also a third method, which is preferred by our specialists. The aim is simple: to reconstruct and update the obsolete generating unit. By replacing a large proportion of the basic operating equipment, the plant is given a new lease of life and can continue in service.

Which approach is chosen depends not only on the cost, but also on many other factors. The OSART [expansion not known] mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which will visit Kozloduy in June, will also have its say in the decision.

The possible reconstruction of the first four units will take almost five years and, according to the specialists' estimates, will cost about $1.5 billion.

Our nuclear energy industry is now at the crossroads. The crisis is also being exacerbated by the sluggishness and outdated structure of the management, which does not always react adequately to modern requirements. Unless the "reconstruction" starts there, we will continue to be left on the sidelines, peeking into the energy industry's backyard.

Warning of Impending National Water Shortage

AU3103153991 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 23 Mar 91 p 1

[Text] The water in the Iskur Reservoir outside Sofia has reached the lowest level in the reservoir's 25-year-long history. In spite of the copious rainfall at the end of the winter, if further rains fail to come in the spring, the population of Sofia will be very thirsty this summer. Similar problems exist in a number of other populated areas, according to a statement issued by the Federal Consumers Council, prepared after a detailed investigation of the water supplies to 3,159 towns and villages with a total population of 6.2 million. Half of the places investigated suffer from irregular water supplies, while 175 of them receive no water at all (!), and 547 have water only for two or three hours a day. Moreover, the drinking water is frequently of poor quality, and this is already posing serious health problems. In many localities the water is contaminated with nitrates, ammonia, manganese, and other compounds. According to the information of the Ministry of Public Health, in 296 centers of population the drinking water does not meet the Bulgarian State Standard because the treatment facilities are inefficient.

Soviet Diplomat Caught Stealing Automobile Tire

AU3103184791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 26 Mar 91 p 2

[Emil Mladenov report: "Soviet Diplomat Steals Tires and Tries To Bribe Policemen"]

[Excerpts] On the cold evening of 22 February 1991 the hearts of police officers Viktor Vitkov and Pavel Vasilev who were on guard duty at the USSR Embassy in Sofia could have been warmed by $1,000. They resisted the temptation and arrested the generous individual who tried to bribe them, after which they received 50 leva of unconvertible currency as a reward for their efficient work from the SDVR [expansion unknown] on 5 March 1991. After this natural conclusion of the affair, the incident was almost forgotten....

We are describing an incident in which the main role was played by the Soviet citizen Yuriy Dmitriyevich Lagutin, resident in Sofia, No. 20 Shipka Street, who enjoys diplomatic immunity. He was caught by the aforementioned police officers "while removing a tire from a Volga automobile with the Registration No. S 38-50 B.V.

Petty Officer Pavel Vasilev reported: "The individual we caught refused to identify himself and offered us $100 as a bribe if we let him go. Naturally, we refused, after which he increased the amount to $1,000." [passage omitted]

"We have no data available about a criminal offense being committed," Major Vasilev from the First Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs declared. He needed only one day to specify his point of view about the incident and as he pointed out, the "diplomatic immunity" prevented him from further action within framework of the law. It is possible that the Volga with the Registration No. S 38-50 B.V. was "immune" against investigations on establishing its owner.

As a matter of fact, Major Vasilev did not dissipate our doubts by trying to convince us that he would not have *acted differently if a British, German, or American* diplomat had been involved in such an incident. We would also publicize a similar case with the same objectivity, provided that it should happen, of course!

Prosecutor General's Office on Crime Rate

AU2903222591 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The Prosecutor General's Office has stated that the social and economic instability in this country in 1990 was compounded by a considerable rise in the crime rate. The number of recorded crimes marked a 16.8 per cent increase from 1989. Offenses against private and public property had the highest incidence, with thefts going up by 45.5 per cent from the 1989 level. The proportion of solved crimes went down to 44.3 per cent from 63.5 per cent in 1989.

Prosecutors have been directed to demand more stringent penalties consistent with the current crime situation. It was emphasized that local prosecutors should take action for the confiscation of unearned incomes from former and incumbent party and state officials.

The Prosecutor General's Office insisted that the investigations into cases of special interest to the general *public should be completed promptly.*

Police Force's Wages Reported Uncertain

AU2903190491 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—The Ministry of Finance cannot afford to pay the police their salaries and the Interior Ministry personnel is disgruntled, a well-informed source employed within the Interior Ministry system told the BTA.

According to the source, the Ministry of Finance faces these constraints due to insufficient current revenues.

President Renames Sofia's Central Square

AU2903222791 Sofia BTA in English 1914 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 29 (BTA)—Under a decree of the president of the Republic, Sofia's central square has been renamed from Deveti Septemvri, Ninth of September, the date on which the Communists came to power in 1944, back to Prince Alexander of Battenberg after the first Bulgarian head of state after the liberation from Ottoman domination in 1878. Since the fall of the Zhivkov regime on November 10, 1989 the opposition has been referring to the place as "Democracy Square."

Havel Says Screening Painful But Necessary

LD3103162991 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1230 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Vejvoda at Lany Castle; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Vejvoda] Though the last conversations were immediately after your return from Benelux, and you did not want to speak about a number of issues on the home scene, some listeners complained that I had not tried to get you to comment on the theme of screening. So I ask you to do so now.

[Havel] This is an extremely painful thing, but in my view it was necessary that we pass through this self-screening phase in some way. I think it would be totally unhealthy if we were to say what is done is done—let us not return to the past anymore. This would possibly be the simplest way out, but this is a sore which has to be lanced, which has to be operated on. Probably—in fact certainly—screening could have taken a totally different path, without sad hitches, confusion, and guesses. Nevertheless, it took the path it did because nobody, in fact, had enough knowledge about the practices of the state security. It was the process of gradually getting to know more and more. I very much welcomed that the legislature asked the government to present a bill to have screening carried out according to some regulations, as far as possible in a dignified and just way, not contradicting human rights, and not destroying people.

It is not possible to continue forever to point at those people who fell in that sinister trap because of their weaknesses and other various circumstances, to destroy their public reputation, while forgetting about those who used to prepare those traps, and those who lured others in those traps.

My feeling all the time grows stronger that the previous regime foresaw its own fall, either consciously or unconsciously, and that it strove to create such a network of relations which, even after its fall, would continue to poison the atmosphere for long time. It is as if by overthrowing that regime we have removed the source of the stench, but the stench still persists. Perhaps a better metaphor is to compare it to the troops who retreated from the field, but before doing so they managed to lay mines there, similar to Saddam Husayn. The whole affair is very sad, and the most important thing is to provide space for repentance, for forgiveness.

[Vejvoda] The employees of your office also underwent screening.

[Havel] Yes, the employees of the office underwent yet another screening, and the results show that not many were secret collaborators, and the majority of those who were have already voluntarily given up their jobs, and those who did not now have to leave the office—it is understandable. Nobody from among my closests collaborators and advisors were affected by it. [passage omitted]

Poll Measures Support for Moravian Autonomy

LD2903163291 Prague CTK in English 1448 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 29 (CTK)—Foreigners will be less willing to invest their money in Czechoslovakia if disputes over the status of the Moravian region within the federation lead to problems in the country as a whole, according to 62 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens questioned in a public opinion poll.

This was one of the findings released today from a survey of 729 people on the status of Moravia and the administrative and constitutional setup of Czechoslovakia, conducted by the institute for public opinion research between February 9 and February 12, 1991.

Eighty-one per cent of those surveyed agreed that it is necessary to solve the country's economic problems before dealing with the arrangement of territorial administration. Broken down by region there was still overwhelming agreement with this statement—85 per cent in Bohemia, 73 per cent in Moravia, and 90 per cent in Slovakia.

Thirty-nine per cent of all Czechoslovak citizens believe that granting autonomy to Moravia and Silesia would improve the political situation of the entire country. This belief is shared by 23 per cent of the inhabitants of Bohemia, 58 per cent of Moravians, and 43 per cent of those living in Slovakia.

Conflicts over the status of Moravia significantly lower Czechoslovakia's prestige abroad, according to 59 per cent of the respondents. Even more of them - 64 per cent - think that demands for Moravian and Silesian autonomy are used by some politicians to further their careers, including 79 per cent in Bohemia, 56 per cent in Moravia and 53 per cent in Slovakia.

Calfa Interviewed on Recent Statements on Economy

LD2903231291

[Editorial Report] Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech at 1850 GMT on 29 March broadcasts its regular 10-minute "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" program. Marian Calfa, CSFR prime minister, is interviewed by an unidentified correspondent. The program is recorded.

The correspondent asks Calfa to comment on his address on the state of the Czechoslovak economy, which he delivered at the Federal Assembly this week as an introduction to the government's report on the economy. Calfa points out that the government program statement was delivered after the elections, under certain specific conditions, and that it will necessarily undergo certain

changes according to the developments within the country and abroad. He emphasizes that the government really reacts to all these changes, and at the same time strives to observe the spirit of the program statement.

The correspondent then asks Calfa, "In your introductory report delivered at the parliament, you also pointed out the literally sad situation in our foreign trade, especially as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, where so far we have concluded contracts amounting to roughly 30 percent of last year's trade. If we also take into account a deficit of one billion in our dealings with the former GDR, as well as problems with the Persian Gulf, then our enterprises face great problems. How does the government intend to tackle these problems, this situation?"

Calfa answers: "The government has already been tackling it. It is not a process the government is only starting to embark upon, as we have been already reacting to it—as you can see from our trips abroad, above all to the Soviet Union." He goes on to outline the situation: "I would like to say one thing. We would have reached this stage regardless of internal developments, because the Soviet Union simply decided to introduce freely convertible currency as far as accounting is concerned, as well as world prices, from 1 January 1991. This situation is the consequence of a decision we cannot influence in any way. We are trying to break through, but it is not so simple. There is only one way out: As our enterprises continue to produce, we have to look for alternative markets for those products that were (?destined) for the Soviet Union—simply to export them somewhere. At the second stage we would probably need to restructure our production. This means that we will not be able to go on producing products that simply cannot be sold, as they were destined for the Soviet Union, and it is not possible to export them somewhere else."

Calfa, asked how the government is going to react to pressure by entreprises looking for ways out of this difficult situation, points out that the government is currently assessing the concept of its credit policy. As the banks are giving credits only to those enterprises that seem to be able to cope in the future, the government then usually deals with enterprises that do not seem to have much chance of surviving.

Asked about the link between the issue of unemployment and the pension age, which was moved to the age of 57 for women regardless of the number of children they have had, Calfa points out that this age limit is only being considered, and that no decision has been made about this age limit yet. In this context, Calfa says that Czechoslovakia has the longest period for which women draw their pensions in the world—an average of 23-25 years.

The correspondent asks Calfa about his recent statement that small privatization is progressing slowly in Czechoslovakia. Calfa confirms that he holds this view and points out that it is shared also by other members of his government. He says: "According to the information available to us, privatization in its first stage really concerns above all various sorts of shops, simply the entire sphere of services, and much less emphasis is given to the production sphere. We think that the basis of an economy, where money is being produced, must be in the production sphere—and therefore only when there is a qualitative change in that sphere, too, are we going to be satisfied. Until this happens, we are going to criticize the situation whether anybody likes it or not." He goes on to admit that this problem is necessarily linked to the issue of the insolvency of a number of Czechoslovak enterprises.

Existence of 'Network of Agents' Denied

LD2903195791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Interview with Interior Ministry Press Spokesman Martin Fendrych by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] In the latest issue of the weekly RESPEKT, the Slovak minister of the interior talks about the alleged activity of foreign intelligence services over the whole territory of our republic. We asked Mr. Martin Fendrych, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, to comment:

[Fendrych] This information is based on agency reports going back to last year. The reports are generally very vague; they are not backed up by any specific documents or evidence, and are clearly ideologically oriented. Such reports were obtained by staff of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy last year, at a time when Mr. Jiri Miller was in charge of that office. He allowed a network of agents to become active, despite an express and strict ban by the Federal Interior Minister Mr. Jan Langos.

[Reporter] Was that also one of the reasons why he was recalled?

[Fendrych] Yes, it was. As the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy was changed into the Federal Information Service, there has been no buildup of any network of agents, nor has the old agents' network been activated or made use of. It also needs to be said that Minister Langos has a sort of gentlemen's agreement with many very important Western intelligence services that our services, and theirs, will not operate against one another, and that to the contrary they will exchange fundamentally important information concerning terrorism and drug trafficking.

KGB Officers Leaving Country Listed

AU3003202891 Prague FORUM in Czech 26 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Goodbye, KGB"]

[Text] Prague—On 20 February 1991, a letter from the director of the Federal Interior Ministry's Office for Control and Coordination was delivered to Major General Voskoboynikov, head of the State Security Committee of the USSR (KGB) representation. It contained information on the contract termination and requested that during the termination-notice grace period, he make arrangements for the work connected with concluding the activities of the KGB representation functioning only as a clerk. The Federal Ministry of the Interior received an answer on 25 February. General B.N. Voskoboynikov, V.B. Lvov, Y.V. Galyutkina, and Y.A. Gnusarov had already left the territory of the CSFR. The Bratislava employee of the representation also concluded his activity. Still present in Prague is S. Logunov, who is currently registered as an employee of the Soviet Embassy.

Slovak Government Responds to Meciar Statement

LD2903195791 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 29 MDar 91

[Text] The secretariat of the Slovak National Council chairman has published a statement through CTK concerning the latest meeting of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Komarno. It states that at the meeting the prime minister publicly stated that it is necessary to make changes in the Slovak National Council Presidium.

The secretariat of the Slovak parliamentary chairman is authorized to state that no competent bodies of the Slovak National Council has asked the prime minister to tackle this problem. The government and its prime minister are at the moment confronted with serious economic and social problems in the Slovak Republic. The competent bodies therefore believe that they will fully concentrate on solving them, the statement of the secretariat of the Slovak National Council chairman says.

New VPN Platform Adopts Resolution at Martin

AU3003151791 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Mar 91 p 3

"Text" of resolution adopted by the Public Against Violence movement For a Democratic Slovakia platform at a meeting held in Martin on 23 March: "A Document From Martin"]

[Text] The Public Against Violence [VPN] movement For a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform adopted the following resolution at its working meeting held in Martin on 23 March 1991:

1. We confirm that we are still part of the VPN movement and that we want to try and seek a solution to the crisis that has arisen.

2. We acknowledge the defense and implementation of the A Chance for Slovakia program.

3. The VPN-ZDS platform recommends that the deputies and government members who support it should continue cooperating with all their partners in the constitutional bodies and that they should not bring the VPN movement's problems into the these bodies' work.

4. The VPN-ZDS platform still regards its current coalition partners on a national and federal level as its partners and colleagues in resolving specific issues.

5. The VPN-ZDS platform supports the fulfillment of the program presented by the Slovak Government headed by Prime Minister Meciar.

6. The VPN-ZDS platform wants to renew openness in the VPN's policy, solidarity within our movement, and cooperation with citizens and civic initiatives.

7. We turn to trade unionists, the intelligentsia, and the entire public with an appeal to help in stabilizing the political situation and to contribute toward accelerating the solution to specific problems facing CSFR and Slovak citizens.

8. We reject the confrontationist political atmosphere, the increasing groundless accusations and campaigns, and—in particular—bringing the movement's internal disputes into the parliaments and governments.

9. We reject the confrontationist course of action adopted by the current VPN leadership against representatives of the newly established VPN-ZDS platform.

10. We reject the attacks being made against Prime Minister Meciar and Minister Knazko.

11. We reject altering the VPN's political orientation from the right or to the left and we stand by our original broad-based central line.

12. We do not identify with the resolutions adopted at the other VPN Slovak Council sessions in view of their confrontationist contents and character, which run counter to the VPN movement's fundamental ideas. Therefore, we also reject them because they do not involve constitutional jurisdiction and the VPN's election program, but involve diverse views and approaches in the implementation of the A Chance for Slovakia program. These resolutions are at variance with the principles of pluralism and democracy within the VPN.

13. The VPN-ZDS supports all positive groupings resulting from constructive dialogue with all parliamentary and extraparliamentary parties and movements.

14. The VPN-ZDS platform is in favor of the following: the development of cooperation with Czech Republic political representatives based on the principle of equality both in implementing the federal government's election program and in drafting the constitutions and in resolving common political and economic problems.

The participants in the Martin meeting make the following appeals to the public:

1. Establish VPN-ZDS clubs in harmony with the valid VPN articles. Make their establishment known to the VPN-ZDS platform's organizational committee at Radvanska 50, 811 01 Bratislava, and send a copy to the VPN Coordinating Center at Jiraskova 10, Bratislava.

2. Convene extraordinary district assemblies 14 days after the Martin meeting.

3. We appeal to all district committees to initiate by their resolutions—in accordance with the articles—the convening of an extraordinary VPN republican assembly at which the ideological differentiation within the VPN should come to a head.

Meciar Replies to Dienstbier's Accusations

AU3003182091 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Mar 91 p 3

[Peter Misur report: ""What is the Price of a Misunderstanding"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondent Peter Misur)—"... because of your disappointment with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that simply did not arrange for your reception in West Germany at the highest level, you decided that if the ministry could not do it—as Prime Minister Meciar said—you would make the arrangements yourself. Then, you hire a private agency in Italy to make the arrangements for your trip there. Why not? It is quite a put down, one does not do things like that, regardless of the fact that they ripped you off already on those cab fares and that hotel in Rome, where you paid more than 10,000 dollars for stuff you did not have to pay for at all. Why not...." That much from CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in Sunday's television program "Reflections on the Week" [Co tyzden dal]. The briefing in the Slovak Republic Government Presidium was a swift response to this television "greeting" sent by Minister Dienstbier to Bratislava.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was even able, coincidentally, to introduce the representatives he dealt with in Italy. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, initiator of the meeting, assessed Jiri Dienstbier's comment of the day before yesterday as follows: "I was really sorry to hear yesterday's television interview, because a simple phone call would have sufficed, and Minister Dienstbier, in five minutes, could have obtained all the information he needed. Namely, this disinformation has catastrophic consequences. Regional cooperation is unavoidable in Europe today. He who does not comprehend this makes a great error. If regional relations, which make concrete economic contributions, are questioned, it will result in financial losses. We have violated neither any law nor any principles of the state policy. Although I do not suspect anyone of bad intent, this error will be unfortunately very costly for Slovakia, because it is transformed into changes in the actual amounts of money coming to us.

Commentary Views KDH Role in Meciar's Survival

AU3003182791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 26 Mar 91 p 2

[Ivan Hoffman commentary: "The Christian Democratic Movement's Dilemma"]

[Text] Meciar's attempt to take over the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement by a quick revolutionary offensive has failed, and this is why today we are witnessing Meciar's struggle for his political survival instead of a coup within the party. He had persuaded himself for such a long time that his position was under threat that this has in fact become reality. For an observer of the Slovak political scene, the prime minister's view of his own future ceased to be the most important thing. In an attempt to please the people, he made so many suicidal statements last week that it is questionable whether it is meaningful to pay attention to them any longer. His opponents' statements are, justifiably, being given the greatest attention, above all, the statements made by Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Dr. Jan Carnogursky.

At a news conference on 21 March, Jan Carnogursky said that the KDH was not interested in Meciar's downfall under undemocratic circumstances and, in connection with the possible freeing of the prime minister's chair, he said to journalists: "We are not making preliminary claims for the post of prime minister...." These statements can hardly be interpreted as support for V. Meciar. On the contrary, they can be taken to mean that, as far as the KDH is concerned, only the prime minister's real and complete fall is acceptable, after which he would play only a minor role in Slovakia.

KDH deputies, by voting for the adoption of the last Slovak National Council Presidium resolution, have indicated that support in the Slovak legislature from the Slovak National Party and the communists will not be enough for Meciar. It is not difficult to imagine that V. Meciar regretted the attacks he made in the past against his coalition partner. Even at the VPN Congress in Topolcany, he still erroneously assumed that he would get VPN delegates onto his side by criticizing the Christian Democrats at the meeting when he said: "I do not want religion to become a state ideology; I do not want to see certain types of people in politics."

VPN Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal referred to the KDH in Topolcany in a different spirit by saying: "I am convinced that after the skirmishes between us—if I can put it this way—the KDH will grow into a modern conservative party." At one of the last VPN briefings, Fedor Gal sadly said that the KDH was proceeding

democratically during the present VPN crisis, while the prime minister himself was behaving undemocratically.

KDH representatives hardly have any illusions about the possibility of long-term cooperation with V. Meciar, and his present positive signals (or the absence of hostile signals) toward the KDH can hardly confuse them. At the same time, however, they certainly think about the impact Meciar's national and popular campaign has on their voters. What will the KDH do in a situation when circumstances have, in fact, placed the movement on firm ground, and it has become the most consolidated force in Slovakia?

The first scenario: The KDH lets the VPN "bleed heavily" in an internal struggle, and then it helps to remove the prime minister. This way, the KDH influence on the process of adopting the constitutions and correcting economic reform in Slovakia would become stronger. The KDH would, in fact, offer Slovak Republic citizens the same thing as the prime minister is offering them today, and, after a time, the KDH would be absolved of the crime against the prime minister.

The second scenario: The KDH watches the VPN bleed for so long that it misses the chance of contributing to the prime minister's removal. The prime minister would transform the VPN into a populist movement and, with the help of a social and nationalist wave, he would become the leader of the nation. He would not forgive the KDH for not supporting him when he had hard times. When adopting the constitution and when correcting economic reform, V. Meciar would offer citizens the same thing that the KDH is proposing now, and he would be forgiven for the subsequent liquidation of the Christian Democrats (using the "salami method", for example).

And (for the sake of order) the third scenario: The KDH watches until the VPN bleeds to death, it supports the prime minister, under whose leadership all nationally oriented parties in Slovakia unite in a historical coalition (from the Slovak National Party, the KDH, to the communists), which guarantees democracy, economic stability, and civic freedom—without exception—in an independent and sovereign Slovakia. The emigration of those dissatisfied with this would be regulated by pertinent decrees.

Meciar Against Returning Land to 'Traitors'

AU3003203891 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Miners Have Security Until 2005"]

[Text] The Slovak Republic Government had a full agenda again yesterday. The session was chaired by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and the very first item on the agenda was extraordinary and very important. This item was article 21 and further amendments to the law on the regulation of ownership relations to land, which Federal Assembly deputies are to debate and approve in coming days.

This draft law was available to the Slovak Republic Government shortly before it began its session, yet this was not the only reason why the government rejected it. The aforementioned article proposes a revision of the 1945 legal measures according to which Slovak National Council decrees allowed the confiscation of property belonging to Germans and Hungarians—traitors and enemies of the people—who had collaborated [with fascists] and who were deported from Slovak territory. This revision envisages the return of property to them. The law should be valid throughout the federation, yet it does not mention anything about Sudeten Germans. The financial amount to be paid —according to this decision—from the Slovak Republic budget has not been determined, either. "I do not recognize the principle of collective guilt," said Vladimir Meciar in the lobby, "it is not possible to rehabilitate real fascists. By doing so, we would in fact revise the results of World War II. In the uprising of 1944 we said goodbye to fascism; why should we be the first ones in Europe to rehabilitate the posthumous children of this nonsensical system? Who, again, is forcing upon us such nonsensical steps that no one in Europe is going to take?" was the question the prime minister asked himself, and he added that he has found out from a Federal Assembly deputy that this was allegedly a compromise concluded between some Hungarian Independent Initiative deputies and Public Against Violence movement deputies when the law on restitution in kind was being passed. They promised to help one another, and now this is what is being done.

The government further discussed the Slovak National Council draft law on the Slovak Republic Police Corps. The draft envisages that the principle of the unity of the National Security Corps will be abandoned, that the concentration of power in a single central federal body will be abolished, and that the old National Security Corps will, in fact, cease to exist. The newly constituted Slovak Republic Police Corps will be governed by the Slovak Republic policy on security and will be subject to control by the government, the Slovak National Council, and the public.

One of the points on yesterday's Slovak Government agenda was also the report on the production cutback program and the solution to the problems of the coal mining industry in Slovakia. "Miners have security until 2005," stressed Vladimir Meciar. "Only unprofitable plants, which make production more expensive, will be put out of operation. The number of miners that should leave has been determined, but this number equals the number of miners who will have to leave their jobs for health reasons and because of their age. That is, miners have security until 2005 at least," said the Slovak Prime Minister.

The draft amendment to the Civil Code, presented by the Federal Government, was exceptionally extensive. It

will contain almost 900 articles. "It includes parts linked to the law on international trade, the law on services and housing management will be amended, and the terms physical and legal person will be redefined, that is, we are moving to a system typical for democratic states," said the Slovak Prime Minister, and he added that this amendment is only a certain intermediate product, which means that in 1993 it will be necessary to deal with all the problems again. The Civil Court procedural rules are also subject to extensive changes.

Vladimir Meciar expressed his opinion on the informative report on the security situation in Slovakia, which he characterized as deteriorating. The investigative activity of the police has dropped, violent and property crimes are on the rise, and there is a visible drop in civil discipline. "A total of 40 percent of crimes are committed by amnestied repeat offenders and by Romanies in Eastern Slovakia," said V. Meciar.

The Slovak Republic Government discussed the situation in the independent daily, NARODNA OBRODA. The government stated that its publishing is purposeful and noted that its financial loss in 1990 has been compensated for by the overall profit made by the Apollopress Publishing House. The government agreed to provide a repayable financial loan to cover the NARODNA OBRODA temporary loss amounting to 5 million korunas, repayable until the end of 1991. The government agreed with the establishment of NARODNA OBRODA Ltd. that would publish the NARODNA OBRODA daily and, possibly, other periodical press, publications, and commercial press as of 1 July 1991. In the preparatory period, the possibilities for the state participation in the NARODNA OBRODA Ltd. will be examined.

The Slovak Republic Government also discussed the draft law on courts and judges and other matters.

VPN Deputy Challenges Statement

AU0104090391

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 27 March on page 2 carries a 1,000-word interview with Ernest Valko, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, by a "ga"-signed SMENA correspondent entitled "What Is The Truth With Respect to the Return of Land Confiscated in 1945?" In the interview, which was conducted by telephone on 26 March, Valko is asked to comment on Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's statement made after the 26 March session of the Slovak Government. In this statement, Meciar protested against Article 21 of the draft amendment to the land bill, saying that it provides for the return of land to "fascists" and "traitors."

In the interview, Valko expresses "surprise" at Meciar's statement. He denies, first of all, that the Slovak Government received the draft bill only shortly before its 26 March meeting as the draft had been discussed by the Slovak Government once before. He also clarifies that in the meantime, the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees have deleted Article 21 from the bill, so this article will not figure in the draft that will be submitted to the Federal Assembly Plenum for debate. Valko does not rule out, however, that the issue of restitution of property confiscated from Slovak Hungarians may still be raised in the legislature. He says: "Every deputy has the right to submit any modifying proposal, which means that Article 21 may still be debated. This is the normal constitutional procedure." Valko points out that the inclusion of Article 21 would require the support of at least 38 Chamber of Nations deputies who were elected in the Slovak Republic.

Valko also challenges Meciar's description of Article 21. He says that the article "definitely does not concern the return of property to so-called traitors and enemies of the nation." It only provides for the return of land confiscated from Hungarians who were Czechoslovak citizens at the time and who still live in Czechoslovakia. Hence, "even if Article 21 were approved, it would concern only Hungarians and not Germans, Ukrainians, or anyone else, let alone traitors, collaborators, or fascists." According to Valko, it was precisely the restriction of Article 21 to Slovak Hungarians that ultimately prompted the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees to delete it from the draft, as it discriminates against the other minorities.

Soros Denies Influence in Slovak Legislation

AU3103134991

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 March on page 5, under the headline "G. Soros: 'I Am Ready To Answer....'," publishes a 600-word letter by Hungarian-born American millionaire George Soros. The letter is a reaction to an article by Drahoslav Machala, in which Soros is described as an eminence grise in Slovak politics. Machala even considers the possibility that "Soros' dollars" influenced the Slovak legislation and are, for instance, responsible for the change in the Czechoslovak Land Bill that moves the effective date for restitutions in Slovakia back to 1945, thus making eligible also the German and Hungarian landowners, whose property was nationalized between 1945 and 1948.

In his letter, Soros denies Machala's accusations saying: "I have never bribed or paid any member of the legislature; I have never attempted to influence any legislation," and he goes on to explain that since 1979 he has supported various foundations around Europe in the hope that they would contribute to forming "such a society in which people like me [Soros] could prosper." After the revolution, he says, I contributed one million dollars to the Charter 77 Foundation "to help forming institutions of an open society. The first annual report of this foundation, including a detailed account of expenditures, will be published soon."

Soros is very distressed, as he puts it, by what is happening in Slovakia. The closed society based on the communist dogma has been eliminated, he says, but the people who managed it and who do not have any future in an open society are attempting to create a similar type of society, this time in the form of a nationalist dictatorship. Soros concludes his letter by saying that he welcomes any investigation of this matter, and he is ready to answer any questions.

Slovak Interior Ministry 'Bolshevization' Viewed

LD2903175191 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] [Announcer] This morning we were visited by representatives of the Initiative for the Protection of Democracy: Federal Assembly Deputy Michael Blaha; Anton Popovic, president of the University Union of Slovakia; (Boris Greksa), head of the secretariat of this union; and Zuzana Mistrikova, deputy of the Slovak National Council.

[Announcer] The state power of the Slovak Republic is represented by the Ministry of the Interior, which has its armed components, by the judiciary, prosecution, and defense. These components have in common their pronounced bolshevization.

[Blaha] As a deputy to the Security Committee, I analyzed for about three weeks the situation at the Ministry of the Interior, and I think that I can say responsibly that this state, through this ministry, is in the hands of former members and agents of State Security (StB) one year after the free elections.

[Popovic] I would like to add something about defense that we were pointing out as early as last December; namely, that people who were in the Central Committee of the CPSL [Communist Party of Slovakia] still work there. These people were looking after the judiciary at the CPSL Central Committee, and we know whom the judicary served under communism. They are still there.

[Announcer] Setting aside what you said, I assume that you know exactly which persons at the Ministry of the Interior are the former cadres that should leave.

[Popovic] I cannot but be specific, so I will give names. The first person who should not be at the Ministry is Colonel (Jaroslav Svechota). His past is very interesting. He was appointed under Meciar director of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. There is evidence that he screened for Meciar about 6,000 people in Slovakia. He was fired after the legislative elections by Ruml, deputy federal minister of the interior, for trying to defend StB agent Budaj. He had no powers to defend him. At the time he was fired from the Federal Interior Ministry, he had already been appointed first deputy Slovak minister of the interior. He deleted six pages from the Bratislava register of volumes that carried all the names of the StB agents. Later on it transpired that (Svechota) figures on one of the six pages. This is absurd. This person is still sitting at the Ministry of the Interior as a deputy.

[(Greksa)] There are also people at the Ministry whose screenings would be very interesting: Mr. (Stern), Mr. (Krizan), Mr. (Kona). Every rank-and-file member is filled with horror when hearing his name, because he used to do cadre policy under the communist Minister Lazar. As I have found out, last week Interior Minister Pittner called Lazar to consult with him. Where are we? I have the right to ask.

[Popovic] It would appear that the conspiratory power networks continue to function in all the power components that exist in Slovakia. That is why these cases cannot be clarified, because many current politically influential people would be affected, all judiciary and courts. I do not know how to get out of this situation, because I am sure that the facts we stated here today will be denied by someone today or tomorrow. The Slovak National Council has no investigation commission of its own, it has no powers to investigate these facts. The ministers are merely obliged to answer before the Slovak National Council committees or Plenum, but the employees do not have to.

[Announcer] In finding out where the truth is, I see a solution in turning to the Commission on 17 November at the Federal Assembly to finally explain certain matters. The Slovak National Council should ask this commission for cooperation.

[Popovic] I fear that if we do not get rid of certain people —certain networks of people—we will not get anywhere politically, economically, or socially, so a firm hand will have to be called in, and this appears to us as a threat to democracy. [end recording]

[Announcer] Prior to the broadcast, we acquainted Minister of the Interior Ladislav Pittner with the facts we heard during our meeting. His viewpoint on the register volumes of the State Security is that, according to the power-sharing bill, this sphere belongs under the Federal Ministry of the Interior. It is for this reason that he cannot comment on whether or not Mr. (Svechota) interfered in the register. As to the aforementioned Mr. (Kona), he is not working at the ministry anymore. He is employed at a government office. In the future we will try to obtain an interview with Jan Langos, Federal Minister of the interior, as well as with Mr. (Svechota) himself.

Slovak View of Radical Economic Reform Supported

AU0104104891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Mar 91 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Without Suspicion of Evil Intentions"]

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa's explanation of the government report—just submitted to the legislature—on the state of the economy was formulated in a sober manner, but with obvious signs of restrained optimism as far as the evaluation of the first steps of economic reform is concerned. It is unnecessary to convince citizens that its intention is not to "harm ordinary people for the sake of it." After all, there is a general consensus that it would be impossible—in the foreseeable future—to expect an improvement in economic conditions or a renewed increase in citizens' standard of living without social victims. To mitigate the conflicting nature of the economic reform process, however, it is necessary to clarify not only the mechanisms for its operation, but also to openly admit the mistakes and errors that quite naturally accompany such a revolutionary change in our social system.

Perhaps it will not be qualified as a manifestation of nationalism if citizens in Slovakia ask why development in the Slovak Republic is worse than in the Czech Republic in the industrial, civil engineering production, and unemployment sectors. Is this not because the scenario for radical economic reform was conceived as a universal solution and thus it did not respect the specific nature of the Slovak economy? Or the reform strategists indeed studied this alternative, but did not consider it important enough to project into it measures specifically designed to resolve Slovak regional problems.

In the current situation, the more negative consequences of economic reform on Slovakia's population are causing particular difficulties in Czech-Slovak relations. They could lead to a rise in tension, thus damaging the partnership between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as well as the internal political stability necessary for the smooth course of economic reform. Their unfavorable impact on social conditions has justifiably inspired the Slovak Government to seeking its own starting points for dealing with the situation that has arisen.

The federal government's attempt to administer the process of radical economic reform in an optimum systematic plan should not cast aspersions on Slovak political representatives' interest in making sure that the problematic situation is resolved flexibly within the framework of agreed jurisdiction. If the Prague center considers the current system of executive jurisdiction in the CSFR to be insufficiently effective from the point of view of implementing a flexible economic policy, however, then—on the other hand—there should be no shortage of willingness to look into this grave objection in a matter-of-fact manner. However, this should not be done in an atmosphere of suspicion of evil intentions and a lack of goodwill about understanding the aims of all interested parties. After all, economic problems are too serious an issue to allow their solution to be complicated by political invectives and ideological terminology.

Guaranty Bank Established in Bratislava

AU2903143091

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 March on page 3, under the headline "An Opportunity for Entrepreneurs," carries an 800-word interview with Engineer Vladislav Bachar, an adviser to the Slovak finance minister and the "spiritual father" behind the idea of founding the Slovak Guaranty Bank (Slovenska Zarucna Banka), by Peter Misur. The interview was conducted after the bank was registered in Bratislava on 27 March. It was founded in cooperation with the Austrian Burgersforderungsbank and will come into operation as of 1 July.

According to Bachar, the aim of the bank is "to support investment activity and enterprises' export business and to provide already existing banks with security on their credit so that, in the event an entrepreneur becomes insolvent, it will take on his obligations."

Bachar also states that a similar bank should also be founded in Prague.

Opinion Polls on Slovakia's Nuclear Power Plants

AU0104092191 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 28 Mar 91 p 7

["(tmp)"-signed report: "What the Slovak Citizens Think About Nuclear Plants"]

[Text] The situation in electricity production is critical, particularly in Slovakia. This is a serious issue for a functioning economy, but, at the same time, there is also growing anxiety and fear about electricity production in nuclear power plants. This, too, was the reason why the Slovak Statistical Office—in extensive representative polls—explored the opinion of Slovak citizens on this problem.

When directly asked whether the CSFR should have nuclear power plants, 25 percent responded "definitely yes," and 35 percent said "rather yes then no." That is, almost 60 percent of Slovak citizens agree with the operation of nuclear power plants. A total of 23 percent answered "no rather than yes" and a tenth said "definitely no." The remaining 8 percent did not know how to answer.

Even more interesting answers were received to questions pertaining directly to the operation of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant. Attacks—above all, by the Austrian press—but also specific worries about the plant's structure, which is not the most perfect and safe structure, were reflected in Slovak citizens' answers.

The immediate closure of the power station is demanded by 11 percent of Slovak citizens and by almost 16 percent of Bratislava citizens. It seems, however, that common sense and economic interests prevailed. When asked whether the power station should be kept in

operation as long as its operation is reliable, 77 percent of respondents in Slovakia and 67 percent in Bratislava said yes. It is self-evident that citizens living in the vicinity of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power plant had a more critical attitude toward its operation and that explains why there were fewer positive answers in Bratislava. Respondents with a higher education have a more positive view about the production of nuclear energy in our republic than others.

Director Interviewed on Czech Energy Policy

AU3003180591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Mar 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Engineer Petr Karas, general director of Czech Electric Power Plants, by Richard Stregl; place and date not given: "After the Federal Energy Policy Concept, a Czech Concept"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Stregl] The residents of the most heavily polluted towns of North Bohemia are up in arms again and claim that nothing has been done to improve the conditions in which they live. How would you respond to this accusation, as the director of the state company that owns the power stations?

[Karas] We know very well that people are paying with their health, and often even with their lives, for the relative prosperity that the past regime tried to artificially maintain. [passage omitted] It needs to be realized, however, that it is impossible to sustain this prosperity and, at the same time, set right the investment disproportions of the past 40 years. To illustrate the situation, I will cite a few figures:

The value of all our electric power stations is 60 billion korunas [kcs]. To fundamentally modernize and clean up power stations that come into consideration for further operation and to complete units one and two of the Temelin nuclear power station, we will need between kcs120 and 150 billion, of which desulfurization alone will cost 60 billion.

With electricity prices at the current level, we can only keep producing electricity for certain period of time, but it is impossible to change the structure of the power industry, to desulfurize and modernize [coal-burning power stations], and to replace capacities whose service life is drawing to an end with new ones. This year alone we are short of kcs17 billion that we would need to live up to our financial commitments, to continue the construction of Temelin, to venture upon desulfurization, to continue the construction of the Melnik-Prague heat conduit, to reconstruct some parts of the distribution network, and to build the Dlouhe Strane pumped-storage power plant in the Jeseniky mountain range.

The promised 80-percent increase in the electricity price for large consumers as of 1 April would reduce the shortage of financial resources for this year to kcs6.5 billion, a sum for which we will apparently have to take a credit, most probably abroad. This credit would be guaranteed and repaid with electricity exports. But even so we will be unable, for example, to continue the construction of the Prague-Melnik heat conduit. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Vaclav Klaus Visit to UK

WA2903174391

For reportage on the visit by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus to the United Kingdom, including reports on his talks with former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hogg, see the United Kingdom section of the 29 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Jeszenszky on 'New Relationship' With USSR

LD3103104491 Budpest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] This is how Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky has assessed the cessation of the Warsaw Pact military organization in reply to a question asked by Hungarian radio.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] This event is more significant than was sensed by Hungarian public opinion at the time of the signing of the agreement on the 25 February. Through [this agreement] the military occupation and the stationing of military forces (?have) ended within a few weeks. As a result, I think that this is important not only from the point of the sovereignty of the country but it has a longer term foreign political significance too, and not only that we will be our own masters but the fact that it provides the opportunity to create a desirable, good, new relationship with the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Finance Minister Discusses Soviet Debt Talks

LD3104183791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Interview with Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa by Peter Szoerenyi; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Returning from Moscow, Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa rejected the suggestion that during his negotiations he had made any kind of concessions concerning Soviet debts.

[Szoerenyi] On the basis of information so far, it seems to me that the Hungarian partner made some concessions to the Soviets.

[Kupa] First, I had not made any concessions. In connection with the troops' withdrawal, the Hungarian and Soviet experts brought out some kind of equation, it seems, but this is not a final one. During April they will present each other with the final calculations [letenni egymas asztalara]. About the debts I made no concessions. I had authority for three and a half years.

[Szoerenyi] Until now it had been a question of two years.

[Kupa] No, it had been three years. We had gone as far as three and a half years, but do not wish to go any further. With respect to the debts, it is not so much a question of the period of repayment but at what rates of interest, and I also had the impression that the Soviet partner would like to repay with goods. I had indicated, hinted [felcsillantottam] to the Soviet partner that if they repaid in money we would be willing to apply in trade, for example, the terms used by the Germans, primarily in agricultural trade.

[Szoerenyi] What does this mean exactly? Would it be more favorable for the Soviet partner?

[Kupa] It would be more favorable because they would not have to pay at once; the Germans, for example, sell the food and agricultural products within a one-year credit period.

[Szoerenyi] What are they going to pay with, since President Gorbachev emphasized that Soviet companies cannot conduct barter trade and they do not have money?

[Kupa] It does not matter that there is no money, if we get timber in exchange for Ikarusz, for example, this is fine for us.

[Szoerenyi] Will we have to continue paying for the oil in dollars?

[Kupa] Oil and natural gas had been taken out of Soviet trade.

[Szoerenyi] In this structure the Hungarian economy will certainly be in the red, no?

[Kupa] I do not think so, I do not think so. We have to try to counterbalance the oil with food products. What I am interested in most in this whole situation is that Hungarian agricultural and food products have a market, at least for this year. Afterward, we will see what kind of structure develops.

Six-Party Coordination Proposal Prompts Reactions

President Goncz Reacts to Proposal

LD2903204391 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—In his Friday interview with Hungarian radio and the Hungarian news agency MTI, Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, laid forth his views on the initiative of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) proposing a six-party co-ordination of the most pressing issues faced by the country.

Goncz pointed out that the political situation had made way for the FYD proposal, which seemed to have a majority support. He stressed that successful co-ordination with the mutually well-meaning approach of the parties might help find the ways and means of overcoming the present political predicaments. He described it as an important aim for the parties to work out their own strategies for the co-ordination of interests.

Arpad Goncz expressed his support for the FYD proposal, and said he was also ready to participate in co-ordination, if so required. He cautioned that the parties should avoid creating the impression that their talks are aimed at shutting out the work of parliament. He was of the opinion that an agreement capable of bringing about national consensus at least as concerns the tasks to be accomplished would not cause any loss of prestige to parliament.

Alleged 'Political Crisis' Discussed

LD2903145691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Miklos Nagy in Oer during his visit to Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Nagy] Very many people say that Hungary is heading toward a political and economic crisis. Very many people say that this crisis does not yet exist. Today's papers carry the FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] say that perhaps this crisis could be prevented at six-party consultations. In your view, is a crisis avoidable, and, in your view, are there indications that there is a political crisis now in Hungary?

[Goncz] It is very difficult to define whether we are facing a crisis, whether there is or will be a crisis. I believe that this part of the question is not decisive. In any event, the political situation is such that it made it possible, made it necessary, for FIDESZ to make this proposal, with which the majority visibly is in agreement.

I, on my part, would add that, by all means, if this succeeds and if the parties approach it with mutual good intentions, it can facilitate the designation of a way out of the current, very difficult political situation, and, might I say, an unfolding. It is absolutely necessary for this to point to the future, I consider it essential that, first and foremost, it should (?combat) extremes; one of its objectives should be to rule out extremes. It is very essential that interest coordinating mechanisms should be worked out.

To be successful, I believe that at first it is necessary to determine the priorities. What they wish to achieve also ought to be precisely defined. I, in any case, support the idea, and, inasmuch as it is required, I will very willingly participate. I can also provide a forum for it.

I consider it very important that they should set themselves to the task not with the appearance of trying to exclude the work of the National Assembly. The esteem of the National Assembly, the importance of the work of the National Assembly, has nothing to lose if an agreement is reached which can set out a national consensus at least regarding the issue of tasks, regarding the issue of the future of (?these).

Antall Interviewed on Proposal

LD3003002791 Budapest MTI in English 1725 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall with unidentified reporter on 28 March; place not given]

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The aim of the six-party coordination talks could be for the parties to coordinate their positions in issues that concern the nation as a whole, as is customary in parliamentarism, thereby accelerating the work of legislation. However, this does not at all imply that some sort of roundtable talks would again be held in Hungary, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said on Friday, in an interview with MTI's staff member.

The prime minister was interviewed about the motion made public by the Federation of Young Democrats on Thursday.

"The significance of the roundtable talks held in the transition period was that the political legitimacy of the National Assembly of that time was missing, thus the national roundtable was destined to give scope to the various groups, to discuss issues of peaceful transformation. Today, a freely elected parliament operates in Hungary, which is why we would naturally oppose all conceptions which would aim at setting up a body that would replace the parliamentary decisions."

In answer to the sphere of issues that the forum proposed by the Federation of Young Democrats would deal with, Antall said:

"I would, first of all, like to set down that several similar initiatives had been made on behalf of the government and the coalition political parties in the past period, and six-party talks were also held. I myself raised a similar proposal at the time of the taxi drivers' demonstration, and I touched on this issue at the session of parliament on March 19, and this Wednesday, in my speech at the forum of agricultural experts. Foreign policy, security policy, constitutional law, and economic policy issues of fundamental importance are at issue. To mention an example of the matter: A common position with respect to handling the debt stock could help us avoid that our remarks in this matter be misunderstood abroad. We should also agree in social-welfare issues in which unpopular measures must be taken, irrespective of party policy, and both the government and the opposition are aware of this. These are the strategic aspects of transformation and the switch to a market economy. I also feel that several issues of evaluating the past, and forming a joint opinion in these issues, are also among the themes."

Question: The first reactions to the initiative show rather mixed impressions. Even several leaders of the coalition parties have voiced their anxieties. What is your opinion about this?

"In my opinion, neither the government nor the coalition should have fears about the public blaming the government for the unpopular measures, while the results would be made to look like the results of the opposition political parties, thanks to six-party coordination. For instance, in economic issues, the basis of the talks is that the negotiating partners accept the conceptions set down in the government's programme of action, along its main lines. We should also have no fears about the opposition forcing its minority view onto the government and the coalition at this forum, pressing parliamentary majority into the background. On the other

hand, the talks could help in achieving that self-restraint come to dominate our political life, that the unavoidable steps not be exploited by parties that oppose one another. I would also like to stress that this will not be an opportunity to sign pacts that are concluded by leaving out the elected bodies and parliamentary groups of the parties. The series of talks can only be based on mutual confidence, the internal agreement of the government, and should enjoy support from the parliamentary groups. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the parliamentary groups and party organs be continuously informed about the talks."

Question: Who would attend the discussions?

"The leading bodies of the parties, the heads of the parliamentary groups, on the basis of authorization. In all issues in which their mandate does not include a decision right, they could approve the agreement only conditionally, and this would later be approved by the competent leading organ, or parliamentary group of their parties. In this way, it would become possible for us to attain greater self-restraint in the parliamentary contributions, without impairing the rights of the MPs."

Question: When would the series of talks begin, and how long would these talks—which, under the Federation of Young Democrats' proposal, would be held behind closed doors—last?

"I shall summon the participants, at a time when the leading bodies of the political parties have taken a position for the proposal. The first session should decide about the themes to be discussed, and the order of placing them on the agenda. We should select the issues, just as parliament selects from among the many bills put before it. Genuine talks can only begin when parliament has been convened, and the parliamentary groups begin their work, for the success of the coordination talks is inconceivable without the parliamentary groups taking continuous positions.

"In the interest of work efficiency, I support the proposal of the Young Democrats for the public to be informed about the talks only after the individual sessions. The stakes are high: the stability of the country, the success of parliamentary governing. To what extent the political parties will be constructive in the mechanism which—and I stress again—makes it possible to coordinate only the basic principles even within the main issues, will become clear during the operation of the forum. Possible agreements cannot replace either governing, or legislation," Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in the interview with MTI.

SZDSZ Alliance Airs Views

LD2903225891 Budapest MTI in English 2039 GMT29 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 29 (MTI)—The executive body of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ] has taken a position with respect to the six-party talks proposed by the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) [FIDESZ].

The position notes that the motion, and particularly the fact that the government immediately gave its agreement, indicates that a wide sphere has come to see that a special situation has come about in Hungary.

"We believe that success can be hoped from the six-party talks only in case the roles within parliament are not merged into one another at the negotiation table. In parliament, the majority bearing the responsibility of governing stands on one side, with the opposition parties on the other side. This is how it should be at the talks, too.

"The increasingly paralyzed state of the political institutions can mainly be traced back to the fact that the government does not have a firm programme... If we accept that the government holds negotiations with the roundtable of six parliamentary parties, we thus exempt it from the obligation of having to put its own affairs in order.

"The government should state the issues in which it has proposals ready for negotiation. It should also ensure that suitable agreement comes about between the governing parties in these issues by the start of the talks.

"The AFD is aware that the special situation requires special solutions. We are ready for all talks which carry in themselves the possibility of a good solution. However, the following are necessary in this interest:

"1. The talks should be held between the government coalition on the one hand, and the opposition parties on the other hand.

"2. The basis of the debate should be a governmental report coordinated with the coalition parties.

"3. It should be ensured that legislation is not paralysed for the duration of the talks," runs the position issued by the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Independent Legislator Criticizes Government

AU0104110391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Mar 91 pp 1, 7

[Interview with independent parliamentary representative Zoltan Kiraly by Attila Melykuti in March; place not given: "Wasted Opportunities"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] During this drawn-out phase of Hungary's change of regime, economics and politics have become even more intertwined than before—more intertwined than necessary. The slow handling of the land bill, the compensation bill, and the cooperative bill are only a few examples of lengthy parliamentary procedures. Indeed, apart from being overburdened, the National Assembly

is slowed down by party political struggles and democratic standstills. In the following interview, we try to go beyond generalities and provide concrete examples of the current interdependency between politics and economics. We interviewed Zoltan Kiraly, who used to represent the parliamentary opposition under the former regime. Following a brief period with the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], Kiraly recently joined the ranks of the Hungarian National Assembly's independent representatives. His political statements once again show his allegiance to the opposition.

[Kiraly] During the party state, I distanced myself from the one-party system and all its limitations and manifestations. That is how I became a member of the opposition, if you like. At the time of the first democratic elections, the MDF offered me its support and I accepted it, but I stressed that I wanted to remain above party interests, thereby maintaining my sovereignty. It was precisely for this reason that I later had to leave the MDF parliamentary faction; however, it is still my fundamental principle to stand up for actions and issues that I consider to be important and just. I would support such actions even if they were initiated by the government. Unfortunately, the cabinet's helplessness and unpreparedness have led to a series of political blunders; however, that criticism also applies to the opposition. [passage omitted]

[Melykuti] Recently, Prime Minister Antall has stated on several occasions that although certain critical symptoms can be witnessed in Hungary, there is no general crisis. Several news correspondents have reacted to this statement by comparing it to the viewpoint expressed by Janos Kadar during the last months of his rule.

[Kiraly] My impression is that Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has broken away from the public in the same way that Janos Kadar did at the time. Just like Kadar, Jozsef Antall has no idea of the things that go on in people's everyday lives, in their minds. In that respect, I think that the parallel is justified. I am very sad to see that this informed and intelligent man has isolated himself from reality, from acceptance of the country's public mood. I also think that the mistakes that marked Antall's choice of government members can be explained by the prime minister's personal characteristics. The internal MDF reorganizations carried out by the fallen Balazs Horvath [former interior minister]—currently minister without portfolio—may well be normal and legal, but they are immoral! Nevertheless, the prime minister accepts these reorganizations because Horvath is a clear Antall supporter, and thus, the prime minister can always count on the votes of his supporters within the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

[Melykuti] In your opinion, why is it taking so long to pass economic bills? What are the reasons behind the slow pace of Hungary's transition?

[Kiraly] The main reason is lack of professionalism and flair. A Western politician told me that government members are never geniuses—but could they really be as incompetent as our Hungarian politicians?! A second reason is our irrational antipathy toward the legacy of the former Miklos Nemeth government. The Nemeth cabinet drafted a fair number of bills that hardly needed any further polishing. These bills could have been presented to the National Assembly a long, long time ago. They were not presented, presumably due to political reasons. I would attribute this prudence to pettiness. [passage omitted]

[Melykuti] We are nearing the end of March 1991: Where does the solution to Hungary's problems lie, according to Zoltan Kiraly?

[Kiraly] For a long time now, I have been stressing that we need an expert national unity government, with members chosen from a broader political spectrum. So far, however, the coalition parties have rejected this idea, and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall is also clearly opposed to this idea. In the meantime, many of us think that with its current lineup, power relations, and practices, the Hungarian National Assembly seems to be coming to a standstill.

Successes of Walesa's U.S. Visit Hailed

AU3003210591 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Mar 91 p 1

[Ernest Skalski commentary]

[Text] The Western states' halving of the Polish debt—an event of historic proportion—is to a large extent the result of the efforts made by the United States within the Paris Club. During Walesa's visit, the United States reaffirmed its stance on reducing our debts by 70 percent.

The United States has performed a great service, but Poland has also done so through the consistent implementation of the Balcerowicz economic policy course under both the Mazowiecki and Bielecki governments, as well as through the efforts made by Lech Walesa. Above all, the president did not make use of the idea proposed by his adviser Prof. Kurowski; namely, that Poland should simply stop repaying its debts. He effected a change of government without undermining Balcerowicz's policy and has even strengthened Balcerowicz's position. Despite voicing worrying reservations about the Balcerowicz program at various times, Walesa finally backed the program so convincingly that the letters he wrote requesting a reduction in our debts were heeded.

That was the most important, but not the only success scored during the visit, and the few hitches that existed are not worth mentioning. We won Washington's support for our efforts to bring about the withdrawal of the Soviet forces in Poland, and Walesa probably managed to achieve a significant step forward in Polish-Jewish relations with the help of what was unprecedented honesty in talking about mistakes, including ones that he had made himself. His announcement that the visa requirement for Americans will be abolished, although the move will not be reciprocated, was also well-timed. Besides, only Canadians can travel to America without a visa.

Official on Walesa, Bielecki Visits to USSR

LD2903225191 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—"Polish President Lech Walesa will go to Moscow in the coming weeks," Deputy Head of the European Department at the Foreign Ministry (MSZ) Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas told a press conference here today.

Meanwhile, the government press office announced that Premier Bielecki's working visit to the USSR will take place on April 3-4.

"The talks will probably focus on the foundations of relations between the two countries. They will also cover the withdrawal and transit of Soviet troops," Kostrzewa-Zorbas told newsmen.

"The talks in Moscow will also centre on economic issues, mainly on ways designed to overcome an impasse in Polish exports to the Soviet Union that followed a one-sided Soviet decision to introduce free currency cash settlements instead of free currency clearing or barter settlements," he went on.

"Plans provide also for talks concerning Poles living in the Soviet Union and cooperation and exchange of youth of the two countries," he added.

Defense Minister on Deployment of Forces, USSR

LD3103034591 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 30—Under the decision made by foreign affairs and defence ministers from the six states-parties to the Warsaw Pact in Budapest last February 26, all military structures of the Warsaw Treaty will cease to exist as of this March 31.

Commenting on the fact, Polish Defence Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk told the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily that the membership in the Pact cost Poland 12.2 billion zlotys (about 1.2 million U.S. dollars) in 1990. This year, Poland paid only the first-quarter fee (130,000 dollars) due to the planned dissolving of the military structures. He added that Poland's share in the budget of the joint command was 13.5 percent.

In an interview published by RZECZPOSPOLITA on Friday [29 March], Kolodziejczyk also revealed some data concerning the deployment of Polish forces on the borders. Up till now, 60 percent of the forces were stationed in the west, 30 percent in central Poland and 10 percent in the east. A new model of guaranteeing equal security on all the Polish borders envisages 40 percent of the forces in the west, 20 percent in central regions and 40 per cent in the east.

Speaking about Poland's possible membership in military pacts, Kolodziejczyk opined that the best solution at present is not to enter any alliances but remaining military neutral, or non-aligned. "Poland must be a bridge linking the West with the Soviet Union, also from the military point of view," he said.

Walesa Receives Romanian Foreign Minister

LD2903162691 Warsaw PAP in English 1515 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase wound up today his official visit to Poland.

Earlier in the day, Nastase was received by Polish President Lech Waslea. The Romanian minister conveyed to the Polish president a letter from Romania's President Ion Iliescu with an invitation to pay a visit to Romania as soon as possible.

In the situation of the two countries it is extremely significant to develop political relations stimulating the broadening of economic contacts, Nastase told a press conference.

Next, he stressed the Romanian Government had a positive attitude towards the 4,000-strong Polish community living

in the Romanian Bukovina and was ready to provide it with any help. Some of these issues were included in the programme of cultural and scientific cooperation for 1991-1993 signed during my visit here, he said.

Asked about Romanians who prolong their stay in Poland, Nastase said they considered this country as a "point of departure" for the West. He added Romania would not limit the right to free travel but said it was ready to cooperate with Poland, Austria and Hungary in problems concerning the stay of Romanians in these countries.

Answering a question concerning the situation in Romania, Nastase said the biggest problem for his country now was the lack of people who could implement economic and political reforms.

Siwek on Rejected Presidential Election Bill

AU3103134891 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 22 Mar 91 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Slawomir Siwek, minister of state responsible for contacts with Parliament, the government, and political parties, by Andrzej Urbanski; place and date not given: "We Find Ourselves Close to Albania"]

[Excerpt] [Urbanski] Do you feel offended?

[Siwek] What about?

[Urbanski] The last Sejm session was really like a circus. You were also attacked personally. Even the Sejm marshal forgot your name....

[Siwek] The Sejm marshal confused Siwek with Siwak [name of former Politburo member]. Jibes of that kind are a reflection on his manners, not mine. Second, was not even in the Sejm. The president of the Republic's plenipotentiary was there. It was his authority that was attacked. The most appalling thing about it all was that some deputies, because of their uncontrollable desire to see the Sejm's term of office extended, abused the highest office in Poland, and their own status. That is irresponsible.

[Urbanski] Is that all, and why do you say irresponsible?

[Siwek] Because in his letter to the Sejm, which was read out at the beginning of the debate, the president clearly talked about threats to Poland, both external and internal. During the session, I got the impression that most of the deputies did not appreciate what the appeal was about. They did not understand that Poland, no less, is what is at stake. If they do not appreciate that, if that did not get through to them, they should take up something else instead of politics. It means that the great historic respect that this Sejm possessed ended together with the "roundtable" era. It would have been able to end its term in glory....

[Urbanski] What will happen next?

[Siwek] What can happen other than that deputies will continue to draw their salaries until the next elections. I hope that they will still pass some important legislation; however, there are other problems that will arise. What we have got now is a weak Parliament, a government that is not based on a stable majority, and a president whose possibilities for action are limited by the Constitution, and all this at a time when Poland needs a strong Parliament and a strong government. The president will have to think seriously about the situation.

[Urbanski] What will he do?

[Siwek] I can assure you that he will not do anything that will violate the Constitution or the law.

[Urbanski] Irrespective of what he might do, it is still a fact that instead of racing ahead to join Europe, we have now found ourselves very close to Albania....

[Siwek] I would add: Instead of quickly completing the formation of the political structures for a democratic state and making a spirited start on the construction of economic structures, we will not know where we stand for months to come. We will not know what kind of system we have. We will not know what support it has from large social groups. What we have today are the remnants of communism and ailing capitalism combined with growing chaos.

[Urbanski] Minister, let us be open about it, was there any possibility at all of holding elections on 26 May? After all, it was said during the Sejm debate, and it is now being said in the media, that the president has delayed the whole process by submitting his draft electoral code, that the dates could not have been observed.

[Siwek] I would like to point out that those who are the most vociferous on this score are the very same people who carried out the whole process and managed to conduct an election campaign before the June 1989 elections and did so in half the time that would have been provided by the draft law! [passage omitted]

Minister on Increase in Scale of Privatization

LD2903152791 Warsaw PAP in English 1326 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 29—Janusz Lewandowski, Poland's minister for changes in ownership structures, has announced that in the current year, at least 20 state enterprises will be privatised in public offers for sale, while the assets of a further 300 firms will be sold after liquidation of the enterprise.

If sufficient interest is shown by foreign capital, as many as 100 enterprises could be offered to the public, with a further 1,000 being liquidated prior to asset sales.

It is anticipated that part of the government privatisation programme will be realised through the so-called "voucher operation," where all Polish citizens will receive vouchers equal to ⅓ of the value of the assets belonging to 100 of Poland's 500 largest businesses.

Of the 100 state enterprises which have been converted into single-shareholder joint-stock companies of the State Treasury, 19 are from the agricultural and agricultural products sectors. A further 20 agricultural firms have received permission to liquidate themselves as a prelude to privatisation by asset sale.

"To speed up the process, (we) have proposed changes in the structures of whole (industrial) branches," said Maria Zwolinska, director general at the Ministry of Agriculture. "In the first instance, this will involve fruit and vegetable, poultry, sugar and meat products," she continued.

At present, several proposals have been received from consultancy firms, both Polish and foreign, interested in involvement in the preparation of plans for future privatisations in the agricultural sectors.

"Liquidation—suitable equally for state enterprises and for cooperatives—has proved the preferred choice of privatisation route," said Zwolinska. Farmers and producers wishing to take part in the privatisation process are seeking also privatisation by means of auction.

It is hoped that the privatisation of whole branches will leave scope for development in food production, including the use of technology allowing products to be manufactured to the same standards as products on European markets.

TV Chief 'Will Not Apologize to Tyminski'

AU3003174691 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Mar 91 p 3

['knysz' report: "Television Will Not Apologize To Tyminski"]

[Text] "Television will not apologize to Tyminski," said head of television Marek Markiewicz at a news conference at the Radio and Television Committee.

He said that having scrutinized the television program for which Tyminski demanded an apology (a report by Andrzej Krajewski, Polish television's Washington correspondent, in which Tyminski's friends and neighbors spoke about his private life, this program having been shown before the second round of the presidential election), he saw no reason to apologize to him. He said that it was the duty of journalists to present the voters with a profile of each candidate for the highest state post.

"Tyminski defamed Prime Minister Mazowiecki during the election campaign, and there were no criminal proceedings," said Markiewicz. He added that he was prepared to defend his principles in court, if necessary, and that he was not prepared to pass judgment on Krajewski's program in public.

The news conference also discussed the bad financial situation of Polish Radio and Television (a 200 billion-zloty debt has to be repaid to the Polish post office and state treasury out of this years's budget); the need to fire up to 25 percent of all radio and television employees, mainly in the administration (the criterion being "usefulness"); and the need for the Sejm to pass as quickly as possible a law to regulate the ambiguous status of radio and television and permit the dissolution of the Radio and Television Committee.

Union for Real Politics-Party X Link Possible

AU3003174491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 26 Mar 91 p 2

['ard' report: "Korwin and Tyminski"]

[Text] "We have been waiting for the moment when society has had enough of politics, elections, and democracy. That moment has now come. Either we will win the elections, or Tyminski will," said Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of the conservative-liberal Union for Real Politics [UPR], at a news conference on Monday.

Korwin-Mikke does not rule out an alliance with Tyminski's Party X. He said that during the presidential campaign, the Union cooperated with Tyminski's election staff in several districts in order to eliminate Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Korwin-Mikke did not betray the secret of his election slogan, however. All he said was that he would not talk of politics, but only justice.

In Korwin-Mikke's opinion, people do not need social security, they need hope for the future. "Consumption is the goal, not work," said the UPR chairman.

Korwin-Mikke also said: "We do not support the Balcerowicz plan, but we will defend it against the economic schemes of the SDRP [Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland]." He thought that some of the government's decisions were antiliberal, such as increases of the price of gasoline, customs tariffs, and turnover tax.

"It only takes a few days to change the legal system if one knows what one is doing," said Korwin-Mikke.

The UPR is also calling for greater judicial authority, a reduction in the number of Sejm deputies to 120, and a reduction in the number of ministers to six.

In connection with the road blockade by Private Farmer's Solidarity, the UPR drafted a letter to the minister of justice, demanding that those responsible be brought to justice under article 220 of the criminal code. He also said that those who neglect their duties should be punished by the police, under article 246 of the criminal code.

In Korwin-Mikke's opinion, the United States of the 19th century should serve as a model for the new Polish state.

Barladeanu Criticizes Government; Reactions Follow

Barladeanu Calls For Coalition Cabinet

AU2903150791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1420 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1991—In the Friday, 29 March 1991 session of the Senate, its president Alexandru Barladeanu severely criticized the governing program of the cabinet of Premier Petre Roman, especially the most recent governmental report read before the Parliament, which, in his opinion, did not show the real situation of the Romanian economy and of the society as a whole.

Considering the extremely difficult situation of the country, Mr. Barladeanu was of the opinion a coalition government should be formed, with all the political forces assuming the responsibility of getting out of the crisis. "I am for a government of coalition," stated to the Senate its president Alexandru Barladeanu, who said that he saw "no way out of the impasse for the country than the commitment of all political forces to the recovery of the economy." This, he said, "will help recover our image before the international public opinion. It is not the country but the rulers that are to be blamed for the current very difficult situation of Romania," Barladeanu said.

"I do not share the opposition's view that the government must be headed by a neutral person," he said. "The National Salvation Front [FSN] must run the government, a government that should be comprised of all forces that may help refloating the country."

The criticism of the Senate's president was mainly directed towards the statutes adopted by the recent national convention of the National Salvation Front that granted important prerogatives to its national leader, which in his opinion, "really endangers democracy."

A founding member of the National Salvation Front, Mr. Barladeanu said he supported the movement, the program it assumed before the May '90 elections, but contested the principles for its being turned into a political party.

Several opinions were expressed on the statement made by Mr. Barladeanu, most of them unfavourable, as the problems regarding FSN polices are considered not to be of the interest of the Senate.

Severin Views Criticism as 'Diversion'

AU2903150891 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Mr. Adrian Severin, minister assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament, said—in a statement to our radio station, made at his own request—that the Senate is on the point of falling into the trap of being truly manipulated. He said that issues pertaining to the statute of the National Salvation Front [FSN] should not be discussed in the Parliament.

Mr. Adrian Severin said that Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's statement is a more than regrettable exercise in trying to confound the minority for the majority. It was an attempt at maintaining that the minority is the clear representative of the Romanian people's ideology, despite of what happened at the FSN convention.

In Mr. Adrian Severin's opinion, the attempt to transfer party problems into state problems was a diversion. The government, Mr. Minister Adrian Severin said, proved that it does not cling to power and added that the former bureaucracy opposes the reform. In conclusion, he said that the FSN proved that he truly is a front of national salvation.

Severin Rejects Barladeanu's Criticism

AU2903195291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1919 GMT 29 Mar 91

["Parliamentary Diary—Adrian Severin: 'The Government Is Not Clinging to Power'; the Minister for Reform Rejects the Accusations the President of the Senate Brought to the Executive"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1991—The senate is on the verge of falling into the trap of a real manipulation by joining a dispute within the National Salvation Front [FSN] stated Adrian Severin, prime minister's assistant for reform and relationship with parliament, after he had attended the Friday morning's session of the Senate when that chamber's president, Alexandru Barladeanu, blamed the government of the state of the economy and the National Salvation Front of opening the path towards dictatorship and the cult of personality.

I have witnessed, the Romanian dignitary said inter alia, a more than regrettable exercise, a sophisticated dialectics which pursues to give the minority the right to speak in the name of the majority as well as to teach it a lesson as the bolsheviks used to do in the name of a false democracy.

Mr. Barladeanu and a certain absolutely insignificant minority have tried to assert that they represent the real ideology accepted by the Romanian people. Therefore to speak on behalf of the Romanian people against what over one thousand representatives decided at the National Salvation Front national convention, against what other many thousands representatives had decided at the regional and county conventions. I think it is a ridiculous exercise characteristic for an epoch I considered as disappeared, Mr. Adrian Severin said.

At the same time this diversion was aimed at transferring the matter of a minority which is isolated within the National Salvation Front into the debate of the Senate, of the country's Parliament, as well as at changing this party matter into a state one, which would refer to the relations between powers.

The government has proved that it is not clinging to power. The activity of so far has showed that the former bureaucracy is the one opposing the reform. We are fighting against this bureaucracy.

The dissatisfaction at the evolution of the National Salvation Front derives from the fact that it is more clearly than ever defined today and it shatters any illusions that it would be a front of "personal" salvation, it being in fact a genuine front of national salvation.

FSN Issues Communique

AU2903211991 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Communique issued by the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front Steering Collegium; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] In the 29 March Senate session, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu presented a number of personal viewpoints he considers to be a political decision. He expressed his disapproval of the National Salvation Front's [FSN's] governing program, of the documents adopted at that party's recent national convention, and of the political statute of the FSN representatives in the Parliament.

The Executive Bureau of the FSN Steering Collegium cannot agree with Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's viewpoints, which must, therefore, be considered strictly personal and in no way binding for the party.

Being open—as a matter of principle—to a plurality of opinions even within its own structures, the FSN has engaged, on the eve of the convention, in a democratic process of drafting the documents referred to, a process designed to turn the Front into a modern party, in accordance with the values of European social democracy. Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu has not involved himself in this process. There were many occasions when he could have aired his opinions, as was done by many other prominent FSN figures. It was normal and expected that Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu, a founding member of this political movement, should have stated his position on these occasions. This could also have been done after the national convention, if Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu had turned to the Steering Collegium. As a result, it is all the more surprising that he chose to tackle these issues in the country's Senate, issues that are intimately linked to the ruling party's life and that were discussed and adopted in its forum.

The Executive Bureau considers Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's fear that the FSN might cease to be a democratic political grouping as totally unfounded. On the contrary, the recently adopted statute sanctioned—a first time ever in Romania's political landscape—the possibility of the existence of several alternative motions and programs within the FSN, to be able to vote for ideas, not for people, to structure the party's leadership on the basis of the choice of the majority.

Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's position toward the governing program and reform is in basic disagreement with the majority choice expressed during the convention. The Executive Bureau believes that his reference to the production apparatus reflects a conservative attitude, which ignores the practical achievements along the road of establishing and asserting the economic agents specific to a market economy. It is obvious that Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu is expressing an opinion that differs totally from the principles of reform and runs counter to the very goal of creating a market economy in Romania.

Concerning the idea of another government formula—a coalition—this is not something new, as is well known. It was presented by the FSN immediately after the elections, was later taken up in the discussions with other political parties, and was suggested as a possibility in the recent report the government submitted to the Parliament. The opening toward such cooperation with all political forces that are willing and capable of supporting the reform, however, in no way implies the renunciation or reduction of the FSN's responsibility, which emerged in the wake of the 20 May 1990 elections.

As stipulated in the political document adopted at the recent convention, the FSN stays faithful both to the principles included in the 22 December 1989 declaration and to the April 1990 platform-program. In this respect, the Executive Bureau considers that the airing, within the Front, of viewpoints that differ from those of the majority, cannot possibly question the solidarity and cohesion of the FSN, let alone its decision to implement the reform program, which it submitted to the nation—reads the communique of the Executive Bureau of the FSN Steering Collegium in conclusion.

FSN Board Calls For Barladeanu's Resignation

AU3003160491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1049 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1991—A statement issued by the National Salvation Front [FSN] Steering Board of Salaj County distances itself from Alexandru Barladeanu's opinion stated in the Senate, and accuses him of posing "as a kind of arbiter of political life, using the Senate floor to air his personal views". The local board asks the FSN parliamentary group in the Senate to withdraw its support for Mr. Barladeanu in his capacity as president of this lawmaking body.

PNT-cd's Ratiu on Political Situation, Policies

AU0104122291 Vienna AZ in German 29 Mar 91 p 8

[Interview with Ion Ratiu, chairman of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Ulrich Ladurner and Robert Misik; place and date not given: "I Am Worried"—first paragraph is AZ introduction]

[Text] Ion Ratiu, chairman of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] and one of the

most prominent opposition politicians of Romania, participated in the "Roundtable Europe" of the Austrian People's Party [OeVP]. Ulrich Ladurner and Robert Misik interviewed Ratiu, who was the third-strongest candidate after Ion Iliescu and Radu Campeanu in the 1990 presidential elections.

[AZ] You are not only the chairman of the Peasant Party, you are also in the Parliament. What is the Parliament like in a hardly developed democracy?

[Ratiu] Our Parliament is really not a bit democratic, at least in the true sense of the word. The National Salvation Front [FSN] has such a strong and downright forceful majority that we cannot make a substantial contribution. Some commas here, some words there. On the other hand, I must say: We can speak in Parliament and say what we want.

[AZ] Do you see a danger that the FSN will try to remain in power by force?

[Ratiu] I am concerned that it will do so.

[AZ] In a situation in which democracy does not exist, a popular uprising is a legitimate means to force a change of the system. Do you expect such an event in the near future?

[Ratiu] Peaceful protests are part of civil rights. I hope that this will happen because the economic situation is increasingly deteriorating and there is no coherent idea about a possible solution of these problems. I do not believe that such protests will change anything. What will happen, especially after 1 April when the prices will significantly increase? We will have a price increase of 300 to 600 percent.

[AZ] Do you believe that there will be a violent eruption?

[Ratiu] I do not want to speculate; however, the people are very dissatisfied. Everything is possible. I am only afraid that the government will instruct the Army to intervene.

[AZ] After the last FSN meeting, there were indications that there is a split in the Front. How far does this split go?

[Ratiu] There only seem to be splits, but they remained together and they all want to remain in power....

[AZ] Might this not leave space for a political regrouping within the Romanian political spectrum?

[Ratiu] We will see. On the other hand, considering the measures that are being taken by the government, I am worried. For example, that the government has the right to send troops into the enterprises and every part of the country. Or the compulsory registration of foreigners, which was common practice under Ceausescu.

[AZ] Do you see a problem for your party if, for example, radical economic reform is implemented? Some will support it; however, several of your grassroots organizations in the country will feel threatened.

[Ratiu] No. We do not appeal to the peasants, we turn to the whole nation, and we want radical reforms. We want privatization, starting with heavy industry, where individual branches are continuously producing losses. We know that there will first be a decline because many enterprises are not competitive.

[AZ] Are you afraid that such a radical change will provoke an even deeper recession than the one you have to cope with today?

[Ratiu] No, I do not believe this, because we have national resources. Romania is—in relative terms—a potentially rich nation; however, the way in which industry was developed under communism was totally extravagant. We developed unnecessary branches.

[AZ] How do you plan to solve the national problems, for example in the Hungarian settlement area in Transylvania? Do you have plans for autonomy?

[Ratiu] I do not believe that autonomy is the solution because it would create nationalism and chauvinism. The answer is to guarantee absolutely the same rights to the minority.

[AZ] What about Bessarabia? Do you expect reunification?

[Ratiu] Our position is clear: Bessarabia and northern Bucovina are part of Romanian territory. If the Soviets recognize the unlawfulness of the Molotov-Ribbentrop plan, which they do, they have to draw this conclusion.

[AZ] The decisive question is: There are several borders in Europe that were established by force. Are you in favor of establishing new borders in all these cases?

[Ratiu] No. All the countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act promised not to change any borders by force. Only by treaties. And this is the answer: Only by treaties.

Roman Views Market Economy, Price Liberalization

AU2903165991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1047 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Report on television interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by unidentified reporter in Bucharest on 28 March]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 229/3/1991—We must complete this year Romania's transition to a market economy, Premier Petre Roman pointed out in a televised interview yesterday evening. In the Romanian economy there are several enterprises and even industries which have very little chance to become profitable. Yet, there are many other enterprises, where such a possibility is great if the managerial staff, the workers, the technical personnel understood that such a chance

should be used, the premier specified. This calls for a strict observance of technological discipline and production hierarchy, which have seriously degraded after the revolution owing to a wrong understanding of freedom. A market economy, he underscored, entails a multiplication of the economic agents that manufacture the same product, a rigorous observance of the financial flow which is conducive to both profit and a fair taxation. A market economy means direct connection with the world market. We must create such elements now as they were completely absent in the former regime, and we must do this through laws which form the mechanisms of a market economy.

After the first stage of the price liberalisation last year, the signs of the economic reform are good in one foreseeable area agriculture but the Romanian state had to intervene to set the basis for an economic revival, Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman said in an interview broadcast live on Romanian television Thursday night.

The first price liberalisation stage, said the prime minister, which ought to have been a very convincing stimulus for economic agents, failed to be so, because the agents reacted in the old way: they added to the price their costs as well as their losses. That prompted the state to intervene in order to set the basis for an economic recovery, or at least to stabilise the economy, meaning a sure and growing production. The Romanian prime minister also said that five months since the first stage of price liberalisation, the signs of economic reform are good in the sector that one could foresee agriculture. The peasant food market was pretty well supplied. Which can hardly be said of the industrial goods market, which offered the ordinary citizen hardly more to buy on the market.

Price liberalisation are the right words for what will happen on 1 April said the prime minister, minus the fact that the government reserved its right to set ceilings to certain prices essential for the daily family basket in order to ensure a certain balance, social security. On the other hand, Petre Roman said, one should take into account the fact that the basic raw materials for the Romanian economy are a heavy burden, they depend on the country's hard currency resources, which requires that ceilings be set but these are also a way to stimulate the economy.

Minister Plesu on Cultural Policy, Lack of Funds

AU2903165491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0929 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1991—In an interview with the daily "CURIERUL NATIONAL" ["NATIONAL COURIER"], Culture Minister Andrei Plesu opines that in the Romanian society it is of utmost importance to make things re-enter their bed, not only in the field of culture. According to Mr. Plesu, after the December 1989 revolution, cultural policy was not generally on the offensive. As was natural, priority was given to re-considering the juridical framework of cultural activity, to the renewal of institutions and the cultural staff, to some other important problems such as "the crisis of status of the intelligentsia, the tension between the intellectuals and the power (which needs well-done mediation)."

Asked about the way the personality of a minister of culture can assert itself, as long as he makes, in his own field, the policy of the executive he is part of, Minister Andrei Plesu specified "the 'government' did not interfere at all in my activity. The only exception was when the 1991 budget was distributed, which placed culture between dramatic limitations." He also mentioned a number of obstacles he has to overcome, such as "the shortage of money, the refusal of many intellectuals to be of help, the general atmosphere of hysteria. To which I should add blatant patriotic demagogy, the misappropriation of democracy, the lack of maturity and of criteria in using the recently acquired freedoms to one's benefit, and first of all, residues of communist mentality, present everywhere, in the bodies of power, in the opposition, the communism around us and that within ourselves (the last is ignored, tolerated or even defended as 'legitimate')."

Asked about what he has been reproached with, the minister of culture said he has been made many ungrounded reproaches, but equally well-grounded ones. "The rightest are the ones I have made to myself" concluded Minister Andrei Plesu.

ADEVARUL TU Members on Strike

AU3003160591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1249 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1991—Members of the daily ADEVARUL Free Trade Union are on a catwalk strike. "There has been a growing tendency of central executive power factors to subordinate the largest circulation daily in the country and to offset its real independence status" ADEVARUL Free Trade Union member editors say in a letter to readers. The strike, they say, will end only when the formalities for the establishment of the ADEVARUL stock holding company are concluded, which the editors urged in their general meetings of December 1990 and January 1991.

A final assault on ADEVARUL's independence status started not long ago with a secret governmental act that was intended to make ADEVARUL a state publication.

The act is both illegal and immoral, the letter says.

In order to avoid abuses in decision making on the contents of the newspaper on the running of its editorial board, and other unipersonal leadership risks, the trade union demands that a five- member board of directors be institutionalized, where each director has equal rights and decisions are made by a majority of vote.

April Wage Supplements To Be Paid in Advance

AU2903185191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/3/1991—Romania's Government gave a resolution regarding the pay in advance of a half of the sums representing the money handout and indexation on April, 1991 as a result of the application of the second price liberalization and social protection stage.

The resolution shows that the sums will be paid over March 28- April 5, 1991. The other half will be paid at the second fortnightly wage of April.

The banking companies will phase out the pay of the aforementioned sums function of the disponibilities of the commercial companies, institutions and organisations to pay the sums.

Moldovan Leader Calls For Greater Involvement

AU3103203891 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 23 Mar 91 p 4

[Interview with Iurie Rosca, leader of the People's Front of Moldova, by Ilinca Cioculescu in Bucharest on 15 March—first paragraph is DREPTATEA introduction]

[Excerpts] The leader of the People's Front of Moldova [FPM], Iurie Rosca and Ion Burca, editor of the magazine, "TARA," [The Country] put out in Chisinau [Kishinev] held a news conference at the Bucharest History Museum on 15 March 1991. [passage omitted]

[Cioculescu] Do you believe that the help offered by the Romanians in Romania is sufficient?

[Rosca] We have an advantage compared to the other republics that fight for their independence because we have a country, because we have a "big brother." At an official level, however, we need a greater determination and a more decisive involvement in our affairs. The idea that the involvement of Bucharest authorities in our problems would be an interference in the domestic affairs of the USSR is a false idea. The situation is exactly the opposite.

[Cioculescu] How do you explain the lack of determination in the Romanian officials' attitude?

[Rosca] These hesitations are the result of the fact that we all are still under the influence of a mentality that has been altered for decades of communism. There is still the scarecrow of "economic dependence" on the USSR, which, in my view is much too exaggerated. The voices that call for justice are quickly silenced with the old song: "Our gas will be cut off" or "We are going to lose Transylvania" which is very convenient to the forces that are hostile to the Romanian interests. In this respect, I was appalled by the idea launched by the "VATRA ROMANEASCA" spokesman, according to which the Moldovans who live beyond the Prut River desire their independence to unite with the Moldovans in Romania, thereby establishing a state that is independent of Romania—Greater Moldova. Except for the KGB nobody can promote such aberrations.

[Cioculescu] What measures has the Moldovan Parliament foreseen for negotiations with the Romanian officials?

[Rosca] We wish to turn with a request to President Iliescu—namely, to get more involved in our affairs, in the problems of the Romanians beyond the Prut River, and to make efforts to internationalize this problem. Bucharest's support is a sine qua non condition. Bucharest's silence can be understood only as tacit complicity.

[Cioculescu] What is the position of minorities in Moldova?

[Rosca] In case of the Gagauz and Transdnistrian minorities, the denationalization and communist indoctrination had a much greater effect than in the case of Romanians. These minorities lost the greatest part of their language and culture. These are Russophone people. After the disagreements that we had a few months ago, there were some rays of hope (according to he old principle of "divide and rule") but then the diabolical idea of the referendum appeared. We wish to live peacefully, and the only thing that separates us now is the ideological lie.

Likewise, we cannot forget that there are Romanian minorities in Ukraine. Their situation is very serious because they are denied access to their language and culture even today. We are concerned about their problem and we have positive relations with the People's Front of Ukraine. Our ideals are their ideals too—namely, cooperation aimed at eliminating communist and imperialist structures.

[Cioculescu] What is the current situation of the People's Front of Moldova?

[Rosca] After the separation from the Agrarians, we remained a minority in the Parliament. We separated from the Agrarians because of the issue of economic reforms. Being afraid to eliminate the old structures—which would have resulted in the Agrarians losing their monopoly in economy—they preferred to make a joint "body" with the Communist Party. The People's Front of Moldova is not a political party, it does not aim at political power. It is only a national liberation movement, which is open to every coalition in this respect.

Foreign Minister Views Recent Visit to Poland

AU3003153391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1038 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/3/1991—At the conclusion of his visit to Poland, Romania' Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase told the press that it was a fact finding trip which took place after several months' accumulations.

We had the privilege to be received by Poland's president, Mr. Lech Walesa. The meeting was extremely pleasant and instructive and its atmosphere was encouraging, in my opinion it allowed us to exchange views and information. I would particularly like to stress Mr. Lech Walesa's idea that we are "doomed", in a positive way "to stay together". I think that is the kind of wisdom that we and the Polish people have to strive to, and that unites us in our effort to find viable international economic formulas which protect us best.

On the same occasion Adrian Nastase referred to the PAP news agency's information in which the marshall of the Sejm referred to the "difficult" situation of the Poles living in Romania.

I think that is a little joke intended for the mass media. I was present at that meeting and clearly that that matter was not discussed. On the contrary, stress was laid on our efforts to improve the situation of the Polish minority, which is rather small in our country almost 5,000 and which enjoys the same rights as other minorities do. So, there were fine words regarding that matter. I made it clear in a Warsaw press conference and I think that was a mistake of the press to disseminate false piece of information through mass media channels.

Mr. Nastase also said that on behalf of President Ion Iliescu he extended an invitation to President Walesa to visit Romania. The date of the visit is to be set later on.

Plitvice Unrest, Reaction to Events Reported

Knin Police Aid in Park Takeover

LD2903174291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Plitvice, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The coordination commission of the executive council of Titova Korenica municipality has today implemented the decision on transforming Plitvice Lakes National Park into the Krajina public enterprise.

Both administrative buidlings of the national park were taken over with the help of Knin policemen. The commission handed in dismissal notices to the following five members of the management board: President Nikola Lapov; and members Slavko Stetic, Milan Suput, Mirko Radjenovic, and Dejan Zubovic.

Although hotels in the national park are open, guests are not coming, and it has been learned from unofficial sources that 80 percent of reservations have been canceled.

One Death Reported in Clashes

LD3103121491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Knin, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Following today's events on Plitvice lakes and in the town of Titova Korenica, several hundred Knin citizens gathered in front of the police station. Some heeded a call by Radio Knin "for hunters and citizens possessing firearms to report to the nearest police station." They were recruited for a volunteer unit, which has been dispatched by bus to Titova Korenica. Radio Knin said this morning that there were "wounded and killed" among members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, and that citizen Rajko Vukadinovic has died in Titova Korenica.

Telegram Protests MUP Actions

LD3103124591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 31 Mar 91

["Titova Korenica Asks for Protection From Croatian Special Forces"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Here is the text of a telegram: "The armed attack on unarmed civilians [words indistinct] that was and is still being carried out by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry [words indistinct].

"Helicopters of the Croation Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] are constantly circulating over [words indistinct]. We suppose that they are circulating with the intention of using poisonous gases and dropping terrorists on the territory of the municipality.

"We cannot get wounded out of the Plitvice area because MUP special forces are not allowing through even emergency services."

"Please, undertake urgent measures because otherwise we will all be liquidated."

The telegram was sent to the SFRY Presidency, the Presidency of the Croatian Republic, and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense.

MUP Statement on Plitvice Events

LD3103133691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry [MUP] on events at the Plitvice Lakes area in Zagreb on 31 March]

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—"We have already been informing the public that the MUP issued a clear warning to organizers and perpetrators of unlawful acts that have violently endangered the normal business activity of the Plitvice Lakes National Park, jeopardized property of national importance, and prevented the functioning of the bodies of power in this area.

"Terrorist actions furthermore endangered the safety of the local population and both domestic and foreign tourists.

"Extremists—goaded and organized by paramilitary greater Serbian groups from Knin—responded to the MUP warning with new provocations, threats, and pressures on [words indistinct]. They also mistreated and threatened the guests by robbing them and [passage indistinct].

The statement further stresses that, "when entering the Plitvice Lakes complex, MUP workers came across numerous barricades from which fire was opened on them. Terrorists fired indiscriminately, even on civilian vehicles.

"According to the available information, in clashes between the police forces and the armed terrorist groups, a policeman was killed and seven wounded. The ministry has no information about the number of wounded terrorists," the statement reveals.

The statement goes on to add that "the Karlovac and Gospic police administration, in line with the law, have established public peace and order, which was the only aim of the measures that were undertaken. Armed outlaws are being chased and arrested. During the action, nine persons were arrested. They are currently under criminal investigation.

"In this action of the Karlovac and Gospic police administrtion—coordinated by the MUP—Yugoslav People's Army members assisted especially in organizing transport of wounded people," concludes the statement issued by Milan Brezak, Croatian deputy minister for internal affairs.

Serbian Council on 'State Terror'

LD3103140391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Serbian National Council for Slavonija, Baranja, and West Srem on 31 March; place not given—read by Ilija Petkovic]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)— "Facing unnecessary danger from state terroristic activities of the Ustasha authorities in Croatia, aimed at annihilating the Serbian people in the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, the Serbian National Council for Slavonija, Baranja, and West Srem calls on the Croatian leadership and the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry to end state terror over the Serbian people in Krajina and immediately withdraw all military and special force units from the territory of the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. If this demand is not met within 24 hours, the Serbian people in Slavonija, Baranja, and West Srem will rise in the defense of the Serbian Krajina and to preserve its civil liberties and national and human integrity."

Government Seeks To Prevent Clashes

LD3103142891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—As soon as the news about the latest events in Plitvice reached him, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin sent a group of workers of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to Titova Korenica. Their priority task, TANJUG has learned from the cabinet of the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs, is to prevent further clashes and ensure that the events are fully reported.

The Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs will issue a statement on today's events in Titova Korenica during the day.

Plitvice Situation Update

AU3103143491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Danko Peric report from the Plitvice area on 31 March]

[Text] [Peric] [word indistinct] around 1400, (?Milovan) Martic, secretary of the Krajina Secretariat of Internal Affairs [SUP] in Knin, told me that he had succeeded in establishing contact with members of the units of the Krajina SUP which are at the Plitvice lakes. They said that none of the members of the Knin SUP have been injured; but Rajko Vukadinovic, a citizen from Korenica, died. Martic informed listeners that he had been told that there were dead and injured among members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP].

After that, we received a telex sent to the SFRY Presidency, the president of the Republic of Serbia, and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense from the Council for National Defense of the Titova Korenica communal assembly that says that the armed attack on the [word indistinct] population, which was carried out by MUP forces this morning and which continues, threatens to have unforeseeable consequences. We have dead and injured, and we are completely surrounded. At the end of this message it says: Take urgent measures or we will all be liquidated.

Responding to the news about anxiety among the Croatian population in the Knin commune, which has been spreading since it has probably already been carried in the Croatian media through HINA [Croatian News Agency], academician Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Knin, asked us several minutes ago to report his words that all citizens have equal protection in the Knin commune and the entire Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina because this has always been the party's stand.

We will devote special attention, Raskovic stressed, to the ethnic Croatian population, which can have nothing done to it which would offend its pride and threaten its existence. Raskovic is at this moment setting off for the imperiled area in Titova Korenica and the Plitvice lakes area.

Plitvice Clash Detailed

LD3103154191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—According to a dispatch by Radio Zagreb correspondent Ognjen Naglic, broadcast in the latest Radio Zagreb news bulletin, the action of the Ministry for Internal Affairs [words indistinct]. At the moment of reporting, the republican forces are in control of the Plitvice Lake National Park.

According to the correspondent, there are about 100 tourists, mainly Italians, in the Jezero Hotel. [words indistinct]. The correspondent has learned unofficially, but unfortunately beyond doubt, that a policeman died in this morning's events, and that several, allegedly nine, policemen were wounded.

"Everything started just before 0500," the correspondent went on, "when a column of Ministry for Internal Affairs [MUP] vehicles was ambushed four kilometers into the Plitvice Lakes National Park."

In talks with some 20 special force policemen who described the attack, Naglic adds: "All claimed that heavy gunfire lasting 15 minutes was opened up without reason. The fire was centered on a coach full of MUP members and a column of moving vehicles. Four barricades were erected, among them a barrel full of flammable gas. Shots were fired from semiautomatic and automatic weapons. An Oromblon antitank missile [as received; name of missile not traced] was fired at the coach. The missile failed to explode, which under the circumstances was a miracle, since if it has exploded, it would have caused a massacre."

The MUP commander said that it was unlikely that anyone was killed on that occasion, but that six policemen were wounded.

A fatally injured constable died when shots were fired at him from the post office building. We saw, the Croatian Radio report continues, an arsenal of seized weapons—guns, Winchesters, Thompson automatics, revolvers, machine guns, grenades, hunting rifles, and military carbines.

"The fighting was so fierce on the road that two units came to help. It took place in the vicinity of Hotel Rapajilka. The units succeeded in smashing the outlaws, desperados, and rebels; the correspondent stresses, we just do not know what to call them at all. On this occasion six persons were arrested—all are employees, both from Titova Korenica and Knin. The next fighting was for Hotel Plitvice and for the post office but with tragic consequences in terms of one human life," the correspondent reported.

A team of radio correspondents from Zagreb got through by car to Borje, below Mukinje, at 1400 hours and reported that there were a lot of civilians, even children, on the road, while tourists have begun leaving the hotel. They are all heading toward Zagreb. Italian guests from Padua stated that they "heard some shooting, they did not see anything, but everything ended well. We all want to get home as soon as possible."

A mixed Serbian-Croatian delegation from Mukinje came to the MUP operational headquarters, which led the action, seeking and requesting that peace be restored because they say "they have nothing to do with those who came with arms. One of them said that he heard the conversation of the commander who said that nothing would happen to citizens, only to those who have rifles and weapons."

The telephone switchboard in Hotel Plitvice was machine-gunned; Hotel Jezero is also without telecommunications links.

Concluding his afternoon report, Naglic says: "The notion prevails here that peace is now returning to this area."

Presidency Meets; Plitvice Unrest 'Over'

LD3103165491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Regarding the armed incident that took place in the early hours of this morning in the Plitvice Lakes area between local police and the constabulary of the Republic of Croatia, in which there were killed and injured, an emergency session of the SFRY Presidency has been called and is now under way, the Presidency Information Bureau announces.

According to information available to the bureau, the incident is over, and there have been no more clashes. During the day, while the incident was taking place, units of the Yugoslav People's Army went to the area on the basis of an urgent telephone consultation and with the agreement of the SFRY Presidency, the statements says.

SPO Denounces Plitvice Attack

LD3103164791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] in Belgrade on 31 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—We denounce the armed attack by Croatian police and paramilitary formations on the Serbian people and its bodies of power in Plitvice and Titova Korenica. This act of violence, which could cause a disaster with unforeseeable consequences, cannot be justified.

Noting that through today's aggression on the Serbian Krajina, the Croatian leadership went back on its two-day-old public proclamation that all interethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia are to be resolved in a democratic way. The SPO Presidium warns the Croatian leadership "that it should bear in mind that the entire Serbian nation in Yugoslavia and abroad is behind Plitvice, Titova Korenica, and the entire Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

"We demand that the Croatian armed force be immediately withdrawn from all places within the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, and that all problems are resolved peacefully and through negotiations. Blood has been shed on both sides and any escalation of conflicts could drag not just Serbs and Croats, but everyone else in Yugoslavia, into a dangerous war conflict", the statement assesses.

The SPO finally appeals to the democratic public and the conscience of Europe to exert pressure on the warmongers in Zagreb before it is too late.

Military Command on Unrest

LD3103171591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Fifth Military District Command in Zagreb on 31 March—quotation marks as received]

[Text] Zagreb, 31 March (TANJUG)— No one has consulted us about the intentions of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs [MUP] and the actions it has taken. Services of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] were prevented from gathering information and data in relation to the events in Plitvice and Titova Korenica.

At the request of the MUP, the JNA has placed a helicopter at its disposal so the wounded can be immediately taken to hospital, regardless of who is involved, because in this case human lives are at stake. No other

cooperation except for this has taken place between the JNA and any other side. The JNA has always assisted the people and the authorities in such circumstances.

We are resolutely demanding, in the interest of peace and the further prevention of bloodshed, that fire cease immediately and unconditionally on both sides and that the dispute be settled peacefully through negotiations," the Fifth Military District statement concludes.

Krajina Sets Up Checkpoints

LD3103171991 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] The so-called police of the self-styled Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Krajina have set up checkpoints at the entry to and exit from the village of Kijevo and are not allowing residents to leave the village, either in the direction of Knin or in the direction of Sinj. Numerous residents of Kijevo from the homeland and from abroad have come to celebrate Easter in this village in which Croats live, and some of them have visited their place of birth for the first time in 30 years; they have even been physically ill-treated. This news clearly indicates who is being threatened in this region.

SBS Urges Army To 'Liberate' Krajina

LD3103173791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement issued by the Executive Committee of the League of Belgrade Students [Savez Beogradskih Studenata, SBS] in Belgrade on 31 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—We demand that the supreme command of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia [SFRY Presidency] undertake all necessary measures to liberate the occupied territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, offer physical protection to the Serbian people in Croatia, disarm all paramilitary pro-Ustasha formations, and arrest and sentence all organizers of the second genocide of the Serbian nation in the 20th century.

Otherwise, the statement continues, we will demand from the Serbian president in his capacity as supreme commander of the Serbian state, that he order mobilization and undertake all necessary measures to protect the Serbian people and their right to continue living freely in one state. We ask that in the next round of negotiations about the future of the Yugoslav state community, the Serbian leadership resolutely champion the stand that the entire Serbian nation on its entire ethnic territory must live in one state.

The Belgrade students urge the Serbian Assembly to urgently hold an emergency session. The SBS says loudly and clearly to the Serbian people in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, in today's Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, that if need be, it will replace its written struggle and rallies with armed struggle for the protection of the Serbian peoples' rights.

Draskovic on Serbs, Croats Situation

LD3103183191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] has not called on nor will it (for the moment) call on its membership to take part in public demonstration, nor do we have any intention of calling on Serbian children to join volunteers, SPO chairman Vuk Draskovic stated this evening to Studio B.

"We leave all this to the Serbian state, its entities, and authorities," Draskovic said, pointing out that "in the event of a war coming about—although I believe that it will not and that ultimately the Army will intervene to prevent the conflict—under no circumstances will we go under the flag that bore down on us on 9 March. We will not go into any war under the five pointed [star]."

Asked about his comments on the request of People's Radical Party Chairman Jovan Ducic, for the introduction of emergency measures—in other words intervention by the Yugoslav People's Army—Draskovic said that he thinks the Army leadership "as in a certain way cooked all this up. They have left Serbs without weapons, allowed the arming of the Croatian police and paramilitary formations, and now those who started the fire are in a situation in which they have to extinguish it."

According to the SPO leader, only the Army can stand between the two opposing and now already belligerent sides and try to prevent a further escalation of the conflict.

Titova Korenica Situation Update

AU3103191391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Statement via telephone by commune President Bosko Bozenic from Titova Korenica on 31 March—live or recorded]

[Bozenic] The situation in Korenica is very complex at the moment considering that there were conflicts and skirmishes this morning. At the moment, we know that two of our people have died and that quite a few have been wounded and detained. We do not yet know what this number is at the moment, because the forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the constabulary have detained (?many) people and have not allowed them any access to our medical facilities. We have information that they have abused, ill-treated, and beaten the wounded. Thus, one wounded young man got into a [word indistinct] and then died.

The Army has arrived now, but we are totally dissatisfied with the Army. These people are completely disappointed because the Army has not by any means shown much feeling. While we were talking with their commander, we received the news that one of our Serbian villages had been surrounded, where the people are totally without arms.

Their commander, General (?Stimac) did not find it appropriate to at least show a little more understanding and to begin to try and see what is happening there, but continued to cynically smile and talk.

Because of this, we have issued a statement that we have sent to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs:

The Army arrived eight hours after blood was shed and after the occupation of Plitvice. We consider such a delay inadmissible in such a critical situation. We have two people dead and many wounded.

We are particularly disappointed with and bitter about the conduct of General (?Stimac) who cynically smiled and remained cold- looded when we were told during a conversation that the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia had surrounded a Serbian village that contained unprotected and unarmed people. Despite the warning that there could be further bloodshed, General (?Stimac) continued to smile and did not rush to prevent this.

We feel unprotected and at extreme risk, and we are calling on the whole of democratic Yugoslav public to raise its voice against the unprecedented terror of the Croatian constabulary. We demand of the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs that they prevent the abuse and maltreatment of arrested civilians and immediately release them after questioning and restore the situation in Plitvice Lakes to what it was, that is, as it was on 30 March 1991. The Council for National Defense of Titova Korenica.

Knin Militiamen Leave Plitvice

AU3103192691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin Radio]

[Text] The latest news from Knin, where one receives the most information on events in the Plitvice Lakes area and the territory of the commune of Titova Korenica says:

Milan Martic [secretary of the Knin Secretariat of Internal Affairs] told journalists a few moments ago that Knin militiamen had withdrawn from Plitvice and in this respect did not say that [words indistinct]. Martic stated that (?there were no dead) among members of the Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs, although some editorial boards had been informed that there were, but he stated that this news was [word indistinct].

Several passenger trains are waiting at the Knin railroad station and surrounding railroad stations. Information or anonymous reports have been arriving at the station to the effect that all tracks surrounding Knin have allegedly been bombed.

Thus, the Split-Zagreb express, that is the Marijan Express, has remained at the (?Kosovo) station for two hours. The train that set off from Zagreb to Split stopped at Una railroad station for the same amount of time.

A complete mobilization was carried out in all communes of the Krajina this afternoon with the aim of protecting and defending the Plitvice lakes at all costs.

Manolic Defends Police Action

LD3103194391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic, in a statement to Croatian Television, said this evening that he had to address citizens not with Easter greetings but "in a situation when further attacks are being made against the legal order of this country."

"The casualties we are suffering in the defense of the sovereignty and functioning of the law-governed state should not be in vain," Manolic said, adding: "Despite all our efforts to resolve the problem of violence—which is being perpetrated by certain groups in the area of Knin and today also Korenica—through talks and negotiations in a peaceful way, they have been deaf to all our attempts."

On the contrary, according to Manolic, "they have further escalated. Not only have these groups threatened municipal structures and not only have they prevented citizens from using the roads, they have even gone a step further—preventing people in their workplaces from carrying out their work obligations and from ensuring their daily existence."

"This", he insisted, "exceeded all limits and the law-governed state had to intervene."

"It will do this in the future, too, and will continue to do so until the whole legal system throughout the republic functions. No one will prevent us here and no one has the right to do this."

"The Croatian people must have their own state, created to protect their interests and which should also function in their interests—in the interests not only of the Croatian people, but in the interests of all peoples living in the area of the Republic of Croatia," Manolic said in a statement this evening in the daily news [program] on Croatian Television.

Slavonian Serbs Want To Join Vojvodina

AU3103195291 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Excerpts] We have just received a statement that was made by Ilija Petkovic, member of the Presidium of the Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, concerning events in Plitvice:

[Petkovic] [passage omitted] Proceeding from the declaration on the sovereign autonomy of the Serbian people in Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, which was adopted in Osijek on 26 February 1991, the Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem—at the Council's session held on 31 March 1991—made a decision on Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem joining the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Republic of Serbia.

The Council demands that the president of the Assembly of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Serbian Assembly call an emergency sitting of the Assemblies at which a decision will be made on Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem joining the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Republic of Serbia.

Serbian Government on Plitvice Events

LD3103200191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Since this morning the government of the Republic of Serbia has been closely observing the sad events in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, as it shares the general concerns of Serbia's citizens brought about by the disputable activities of members of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs, a statement issued tonight says.

In keeping with the stands of the People's Assembly of Serbia about the need to maintain peace until the Yugoslav crisis has been solved, the government of the Republic of Serbia maintains that the federation's bodies are duty-bound, in line with their constitutional obligations, to do everything to prevent any escalation of the confrontation and to provide the conditions for negotiations on Yugoslavia's future in the spirit of full mutual understanding.

The government of the Republic of Serbia finds with regret that certain forces in the country and outside it are particularly keen on instigating unrest precisely at a time when possible solutions are being discussed to the crisis that has been upsetting the public for some time. The government of the Republic of Serbia also finds that its estimates presented in the People's Assembly regarding the possible activities of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs unfortunately turned out to be entirely accurate.

To establish the needs of the people of Krajina and the volume of aid in the form of medicines and medical supplies, the government has sent its team to the area to establish these needs.

The government of the Republic of Serbia will continue to monitor developments and do everything to help the federation prevent occurences and incidents of this kind, the statement says.

Bosnian Serb Leader on Unrest

AU3103204391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Ljubomir Nikolic report]

[Text] In a statement for Belgrade Radio regarding events in the Plitvice Lakes area, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, has said that if the party militia in Croatia is not disarmed, his party will demand that an armed force of the Serbian people be set up throughout Yugoslavia.

[Nikolic] The events in Plitvice have obviously shown that the Croatian Democratic Community in Croatia has not armed itself in vain, Karadzic says. According to him, the assault by special forces on the unarmed Serbian people in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina represents the greatest defeat for Yugoslavia and its Presidency, which has not been able to implement its own decision on the disarmament of paramilitary formations. The Presidency must therefore draw the [word indistinct] conclusions and if the party army in Croatia is not disarmed, we will demand that an armed force of the Serbian people be set up throughout Yugoslavia, Karadzic stressed.

According to him, the Army no longer instills the kind of trust that it instilled when it [word indistinct] the helicopters of the Internal Affairs Ministry of Croatia. The Army's reaction has been inadmissibly slow. We will demand, Karadzic stressed, that the reality of the existence of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina be urgently acknowledged by all the republics in Yugoslavia, as well as by the federal state.

The media in Belgrade on which the reformist forces now have the most influence are already misleading the citizens of Serbia. We expect the opposition in Serbia to also react now and demand objective reporting because the state of stability of the Serbian spirit in Yugoslavia depends on this.

MUP Official: 29 Arrested in Plitvice

LD3103204491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Slavko Degoricija, Croatian deputy minister of internal affairs, in a statement this evening for Croatian Radio, said that the "course of the action (by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia) was set in motion three days ago, when special forces—the so-called Martic terrorists [Milan Martic is secretary of the Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs]—came from Knin, and violently brought down the legitimate leadership of the Plitvice work organization."

Degoricija said that at the end of today's action by the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] forces in Plitvice, 29 of Martic's special forces, 21 of whom were armed

civilians, and among them eight in the uniforms of special forces, were arrested. Among those arrested, according to Degoricija, are two high-ranking officials of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] from Vukovar—the secretary of this party from Vukovar, and one member of the SDS Main Committee for Croatia.

Describing the course of events in his statement, Degoricija said that: "It was the workers of the Plitvice collective who were the first to react to the violent behavior in Plitvice," and they wanted "to organize a protest meeting against the violence by Martic and his guerrillas."

For Martic's people to prevent this, Degoricija said, they used force and banned the gathering of workers from the Hotel Plitvice, and then they drove out the whole management from Plitvice and committed further violence in the territory of Plitvice.

"I have called, Degoricia added, on several occasions, even by using my direct family links, on the president of the Korenica Bozanic municipal assembly to meet with me so we could avert this terror and make Martic's unit, which arrived to topple the legitimate and legal leadership of Plitvice, withdraw. Bozanic informed me that he no longer had the situation under control and that Babic and Martic controlled the situation. When it became obvious that this terrorism was not going to recede, we decided to send in our units to prevent this terrorism," Slavko Degoricia told Croatian Radio.

He added that the mobilization was ordered in Gracac, Knin, Obrovac, Benkovac, and Lapac, but he maintained that MUP forces are sufficient to oppose similar actions.

Presidency Orders Cease-Fire

LD3103210491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Following the armed confrontation in the Plitvice Lakes area this morning, the SFRY Presidency held an emergency session in Belgrade this afternoon. President Borisav Jovic chaired the session. The Federal Executive Council president, the federal secretary for national defense, and the federal secretary for internal affairs also took part in the work of the session.

To remove the threat of escalating confrontation, the SFRY Presidency decided the following, on the basis of reports of the federal secretaries for national defense and internal affairs on the current situation:

1. It orders that a full and unconditional cease-fire be secured.

2. It orders the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] units to ensure the cease-fire is respected.

3. It calls on all competent authorities to withdraw all the police and militia forces that have arrived from outside this area.

4. It orders that combat preparedness be raised among certain JNA units.

The SFRY Presidency will insist on the consistent implementation of these decisions, whereby peace and security will be ensured for all citizens.

This is why the SFRY Presidency is calling on all citizens to enable, by their conduct, the competent organs to implement the decisions.

The SFRY Presidency has also decided to convene an expanded session, including the federation's top officials and the presidents of the republics, on 3 April this year, at which the political and security situation in the country will be discussed.

Belgrade Students Seek Army Mobilization

LD3103214191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 31 March, (TANJUG)—One thousand students on the Veljko Vlahovic campus in New Belgrade gathered at a protest meeting tonight to request energetic action by the SFRY Presidency in connection with the events in Titova Korenica. They also sought the urgent mobilization of the Armed Forces of the Yugoslav People's Army to protect the Serbian people of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. [passage omitted]

JNA Units Deployed in Plitvice Area

LD3103214391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2107 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Grabovac, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Several columns of armored vehicles, including tanks and transporters, this evening moved off in the direction of Slunj, near Grabovac (Croatia), toward Plitvice.

A group of journalists, including a TANJUG correspondent, arrived this evening at the Hotel Jezero between 2100 and 2200 from Grabovac, which is 10 kilometers from Grabovac.

According to reports, units of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] are this evening on both sides of the bridge over (the river) Korana. Armored transporters are also outside Hotel Plitvice and in the village of Mukinje.

Correspondents have learned this evening that roads are closed to traffic from Mukinje heading toward Titova Korenica and very few vehicles are coming from this direction.

According to unconfirmed reports, JNA units are this evening also on the road toward Titova Korenica.

Mesic on Presidency Session, Plitvice

LD3103235591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—"There was no need for this session to be convened in the first place", SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic said in a program of Croatian Television in reply to a journalist who asked him to comment the conclusions of today's session of the SFRY Presidency.

"The cease-fire in Plitvice came about after the Ministry for Internal Affairs solved the problem with its units", Mesic explained.

The vice president of the SFRY Presidency also maintains that the SFRY Presidency's decision that Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] units should safeguard the cease-fire was needless.

"The cease-fire had already been achieved", Mesic says.

Asked by the journalist of Croatian Television, Mesic said that an investigation would establish who had armed, equipped, and sent to Plitvice the people who were captured by the units of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia.

Commenting on the SFRY Presidency's decision that the forces of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of Croatia and of the Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs should withdraw, Mesic said that this only referred to the people who were armed and sent to Plitvice.

If they do not withdraw they will be captured and subjected to legal treatment, Mesic said, and added that the units of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs would withdraw to their base once they carried out their tasks.

"Only a police station will be set up in Plitvice by a document of the Ministry for Internal Affairs which was passed ages ago", Mesic said.

Commenting on raising the degree of combat alert in certain JNA units, Mesic said that this had been only a repeat of what had already been decided earlier at the SFRY Presidency's session. "Since there is no need for the Army to intervene in Plitvice, this probably will not be put to any serious use," Mesic assessed.

Mesic also told Croatian Television about the course of the SFRY Presidency's session.

I was outvoted, Mesic said, because I voted against these decisions. Not a single decision was reached unanimously. I will not resign, though, because of this, he added.

Mesic also expressed regret and revolt at the loss of human lives. He compared the Plitvice events with those in Pakrac, where people were trying not to hit someone as they fired. Mesic expressed his belief that "the one who drew up the scenario was under different orders in Plitvice". "That is why human lives were lost here. This is something that cannot be redressed."

Mesic nevertheless expressed optimism and told the people of Croatia, both Serbs and Croats, to sleep in peace because there is no reason for an alert.

"I believe that people will understand that a law-governed state can only function if the system's institutions are operational," Mesic concluded in the Croatian Television's program.

Kostajnica To Secede From Croatia

LD0104005591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2252 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Kostajnica, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—At their emergency joint session tonight, the deputies of all three chambers of the Municipal Assembly of Kostajnica decided, following 16 hours of discussion, that Kostajnica was to join the Independent Autonomous Region of Krajina.

In addition to this, the Assembly decided that all the 28 local communities that so far have been intregrated in the Municipality of Sisak, and which have recently decided in a referendum on separating from the Municipality of Sisak, be incorporated in the Municipality of Kostajnica to which they belonged at an earlier stage.

The deputies also adopted the resignation of Municipal Assembly of Kostajnica President Vasa Obrenovic. This duty will be exercised by Milos Dejanovic, the most senior deputy in the Assembly, until a new president has been elected.

Glina Municipality To Secede

LD0104010191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2324 GMT 31 Mar 91

[Text] Glina, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—At their emergency joint session, ending some time after midnight, the deputies of all three chambers of the Municipal Assembly of Glina decided to secede the Municipality of Glina from the framework of the Republic of Croatia. The Assembly also adopted the statute of the Independent Autonomous Region of Krajina and decided to secede the forestry enterprise of Glina from the "Croatian Woods" enterprise as well as to remove Glina's police station from the framework of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia and incorporate this station into the Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

In addition, the Assembly also passed the decision that the Serbian language is in official use on the territory of the Municipality of Glina.

Mesic: Army Intervention 'Unnecessary'

LD0104091891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0717 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, April 1 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic said on Croatian television last night that the Army intervention in yesterday's clash in the National Park Plitvice, in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, was unnecessary.

At the time the Army was ordered to intervene, there was already a ceasefire because Interior Ministry units had settled the problem, said Mesic.

Two people were killed and 12 wounded when the Croatian Interior Ministry units and the police of municipalities and communes in this part of Croatia populated predominantly by Serbs, clashed early in the morning on Sunday.

The ministry announced that its units had taken the Plitvice area. Local police, belonging to the so-called autonomous region of Krajina which includes the municipalities and communes inhabited largely by Serbs, has withdrawn. The Croatian authorities do not recognize Krajina.

The decision on the involvement of the Yugoslav Army units, reported to have stationed themselves between the two sides, was taken by the Yugoslav Presidency. Mesic held that the body should not have even been called into session yesterday.

All armed men sent to the Plitvice area must withdraw, and the same will be done by Interior Ministry units, said Mesic. He added that the ministry would set up a police station in the area.

The vice-president of the Presidency said he had been outvoted on the Army intervention. He sent a word to the Croats and Serbs in Croatia to "sleep peacefully" because there was no reason to worry.

Knin Residents Protest Army 'Delay'

LD0104100191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0850 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—About 2,500 citizens of Knin gathered at about 1000 today outside the headquarters of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army Corps to protest the delay in involving Army units in the Plitvice events.

This has also been confirmed by Knin Trade Union Council Secretary Miklinko Sandic in his talk with journalists. In his words, attempts failed to persuade representativs of the trade unions in Knin's collectives to stage protests at their factories rather than to have the workers take to the streets.

The protest rally may be seen, although no one has said so publicly, in light of a statement made yesterday by Milan Babic to Knin Radio in which he expressed revolt over the late reaction of the Army and SFRY Presidency to the events in Plitvice and Titova Korenica.

Except for one explosion in the northern part of the town—there has been no official report of it yet—the night passed, as the residents say, relatively quietly.

The town's primary and secondary schools are closed today in accordance with the Municipal Assembly Executive Council's decision to this effect, but shops are open.

Rail traffic stopped as early as yesterday afternoon due to anonymous messages that mines were planted along the tracks. The scene remains unchanged today: the trains are standing still.

Serbian Council Annexes Krajina

LD0104140791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Titova Korenica, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—At its session in Titova Korenica today, the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina decided "to annex the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina into the Republic of Serbia"; endorsed its demands on the SFRY Presidency, the commanding bodies of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and other federal bodies in relation to the current situation; and ordered mobilization for the territorial defense and volunteer units of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

All these decisions were read out in front of over 1,000 citizens of Titova Korenica who gathered at the platform outside the municipal assembly. The citizens were addressed by Milan Babic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, and Bosko Bozanic, president of Titova Korenica municipality. The rally was also attended by representatives of the nine municipalities that have decided to secede from the Republic of Croatia.

Babic Proclaims Krajina 'Part of Serbia'

AU0104141791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] At the session of the National Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina held in Titova Korenica, it was decided that Krajina will become part of Serbia. We have just received the statement that Dr. Milan Babic made immediately after the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina made its decision.

[Begin Babic recording] [applause] Dear brothers and sisters: The neo-fascist and reestablished Ustasha state that calls itself the Republic of Croatia has carried out a terrorist attack against the Serbian people and an aggression against the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

With this act, human lives have been taken in the most brutal way and the human rights and freedoms of Serbian people and all citizens of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina have been endangered in the most flagrant way.

The SFRY Presidency and the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces have not carried through their decisions and obligations to prevent the bloodshed and interethnic clashes and did not facilitate the denouement of the political crisis in a peaceful way. This points to the fact that the federal authorities of the SFRY state are not able to perform their constitutionally defined role in a timely way. [shouts of approval, applause]

The Serbian people in Krajina and the authorities of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina are forced to defend their own human dignity, the freedom of the Serbian people, and the integrity and autonomy of Serbian Krajina.

At its session held in Korenica today, the Executive Council discussed the new situation and made the following decisions: On the basis of the previously adopted decision on the secession from Croatia of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, the Executive Council of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina made a decision at the session held on 1 April 1991 on the accession [prisajediniti] of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina to the Republic of Serbia. [cheers, applause].

With the taking effect of this decision, the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina becomes an integral part of the unified state territory of the Republic of Serbia. [shouts of approval, applause]

In line with the previous stand of this article, the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia is valid on the territory of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina from the time this decision was made. The laws of the Republic of Serbia and the legal-constitutional system of the SFRY are also applicable. [shouts of approval, applause] [end recording]

Knin Demonstrators Issue Demands

LD0104142191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—Workers and citizens of Knin who gathered this morning in front of the headquarters building of the [Army] Corps continue to protest and request that their demands be fulfilled by 2000 this evening. About 2,500 of those gathered unanimously supported the demand of the workers of the screw factory who are requesting that all those from Krajina who were injured in Plitvice yesterday be urgently transferred to the Military Medical Academy [in Belgrade] or to Knin Hospital. A request is also made for the release of those captured and that units of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs withdraw immediately from Plitvice. Another demand is that the weapons that the people of Krajina handed in be issued to police stations in Krajina, while a request is made of the Yugoslav People's Army that it guarantee the peace and security of all citizens or—so say the demands—admit its own powerlessness.

Those gathered were also addressed by Lazar Macura, vice president of the municipality of Knin, who intimated that talks would be held in Titova Korenica between the representatives of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and Croatia.

A speech by Jovan Raskovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], met with various reactions, from support to debates. He said, among other things, that "yesterday was a crime, but that Serbs should not respond to it with a crime." Raskovic stressed that he is in favor of Serbian mothers not giving birth to sons for armies and graves but for freedom and so that they do not die when they do not need to. The SDS leader told those gathered that if they want a war leader then they must seek him elsewhere because he is not one.

No one has betrayed Serbs, not even the Yugoslav People's Army, Raskovic said, to which some of those gathered shouted "Treachery, treachery."

Despite the fact that it was announced to the citizens who had gathered—after the talks in the Corps headquarters—that their demands would be passed on to the president of the SFRY Presidency, the federal secretary for national defense, the president of the Republic of Serbia, and to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, several hundred of those gathered nevertheless remained in front of the Corps headquarters building.

Army Rejects MUP Claims

LD0104142791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 1 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Apr (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia in its sharp refutation of the 31 March 1991 events claims that the Fifth Military District headquarters [responsible for Croatia and Slovenia] was aware of the actions of the Croatian Plitvice Lakes National Park.

The Fifth Military District headquarters energetically rejects this allegation and informs the public that the refutation by the Croatian Interior Ministry [MUP] is arbitrary and does not correspond to the truth. This is announced in a statement today that is signed by Colonel Djuro Vrandecic.

TANJUG Reviews Reaction to Split Talks

LD2903202291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 29 March (TANJUG)—First reactions in Yugoslavia to talks of the leaders of the country's republics in Split yesterday are on the whole marked

with criticism of a plan to replace Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic. [passage indistinct] told a press conference in Zagreb today that his party supports all talks, including those in Split, which lead to a democratic peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. He added, however, that the Federal and Republican parliaments should be brought in talks on the future of Yugoslavia.

At a press conference in Sarajevo, a spokesman of the Socialist Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina (former Communists) called the meeting of the six in Split an "encouraging contribution to a calming of the Yugoslav crisis."

At the same time, the Republican leaders were criticized for bypassing the Federal parliament and government" and, possibly, wishing to topple Ante Markovic and his government." When Markovic falls, Yugoslavia will be no more, leaders of the Bosnia-Hercegovina [word indistinct] assessed.

The Serbian Radical Party's regional committee for Bijeljina, Bosnia-Hercegovina, reacted to the Split meeting with an announcement asking all the municipalities and communes in northeastern Bosnia to set a date at once for a referendum on joining the area to the Republic of Serbia.

The announcement said that the demand was motivated by a statement of Bosnia-Herzegovina's Alija Izetbegovic, who said that the Republican parliament would soon adopt a declaration on the Republic's sovereignty, regardless of the Serbian Democratic Party's opposition. The party rallies Serbs, who make up some 32 per cent of Bosnia-Hercegovina's [word indistinct].

Jovic 'Offended' by Bush's Message to Markovic

AU2903194991 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Biserka Povse report]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] As we have learned from sources close to the federal government, President Jovic is very offended by President Bush's letter to Markovic. Jovic has supposedly asked Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar two times for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs to protest against Bush's message. He considered it extremely rude [nepristojno] that Bush wrote to the president of the government and not as a statesman to a statesman. On top of all this, Bush is also interfering in our internal affairs. Will Jovic be satisfied with an explanation that the United States President has decided to write to Markovic because Bush is both prime minister and president at the same time? Or will this be for President Jovic yet another proof that the federal prime minister is a foreign agent?

There are probably plenty of other cases of people feeling offended by our grand politics characterized by talks between two, or six or even more people, and this is especially damaging to the nation. [passage omitted]

Press Cited on Meeting of Republican Presidents

LD3003160291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—The press in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia rather optimistically comments [on] the meeting between the presidents of the Yugoslav republics, which was held in Split, Republic of Croatia, on Thursday.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES says that Split will be a turning point in creating a future Yugoslav community. In an article headlined "Encouragement From Split," the daily sets out that the legitimate representatives of southern Slavic peoples met for the first time since 1918.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA says the meeting in Split relaxed tensions in the country, and adds that at the press conference later on Thursday, journalists mostly focused their attention on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

However, the Belgrade daily BORBA (close to the stands of the federal government) believes that there is no reason for even minimum rational optimism, since two, mutually exclusive models—federal state and union of sovereign states—are still being maintained.

BORBA sets out that the presidents of the other Yugoslav republics were not willing to accept the possibility of agreement between Tudjman and Milosevic, the presidents of the two biggest republics, Croatia and Serbia.

The press in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia writes about the meeting in Split with restraint. The Zagreb daily VJESNIK says that there should be "no excessive hope, nor hasty discontent."

VJESNIK sets out that it remained unclear whether the state- republics are negotiating in order to find a solution or to show that there is no solution.

VJESNIK accuses the Republic of Serbia that it has understood the talks as a continuation of a warfare using different means and that it still does not recognize the sovereignty of the republics.

Commentary: Split Talks 'Deepened the Rifts'

LD2903184491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Zoltan Sekulic commentary]

[Text] Split, March 29 (TANJUG)—Thursday's summit of the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics in Split not only failed to bring Yugoslavia nearer to an end of its constitutional and political crisis but seemingly deepened the rifts within it and highlighted the irreconcilability of positions.

Regardless of their differences, the leaders of the Yugoslav Republics at a joint news conference, after a whole

day of negotiation behind closed doors, presented to the public the truth: no agreement in sight.

The first in a series of meetings of the Republican leaders has shown that the problem lies neither so much in the form of the negotiations nor whether they should be conducted with or without the presence of federal institutions as in the unyielding conceptual differences.

The meeting's participants can perform all the rhetorical acrobatics they want, or declaratively advocate a democratic solution to the crisis, but the fact remains that they are still at the point where they were at the beginning - Serbia and Montenegro support the federal option, Croatia a confederation, while Slovenia sees a smaller risk in working towards sovereignty than in continuing the negotiations in their present form.

A middle-of-the-road variant, reflected in the positions of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, is gradually losing its chances, as the rift at the top is gaining clearer contours.

The question now is whether there indeed exists a desire to reach agreement—anxiety about this has existed from the very start. Also becoming clear is a desire by the Republican elites to consolidate their positions in their Republics regardless of the deep crisis in the country.

By presenting themselves as the "fathers of the nations," Yugoslavia's Republican leaders are indicating an imminent privatisation of the fate of the country. Who has granted them a mandate for this? Can we allow the future of a country, regardless of whether it will continue to exist or not, to be in the hands of individuals.

The Republican leaders justified or unjustified criticism of the Yugoslav presidency, government and parliament, and their undermining and relegation to marginal status of those institutions, is certainly no panacea for untying the Yugoslav political Gordian knot.

The Split meeting has brought into the open as never before the entire repertory of the routes and blind alleys for solving the crisis. If the summit meeting was welcomed with high expectations, its end brings new uncertainty.

After all that has taken place thus far, the outcome of the remaining five inter-Republican meetings is difficult to forecast - of course, if they take place at all.

Tudjman-Milosevic Meeting Causes 'More Confusion'

AU3003170091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Mar 91 p 3

[Dj. Kesic article: "Deals Made in Karadjordjevo"]

[Text] The latest meeting between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, which took place in Karadjordjevo two days ago, produced more confusion and raised the political temperature among the Yugoslav public. This primarily refers to the message contained in the last paragraph of the official communique that talks about "the consideration of solutions and proposals, like that made by the Yugoslav Economic Chamber on changes in the work and structure of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] in the transitional period to protect the country from an economic collapse."

This formulation is confusing because no one knows that such a proposal exists, and especially that it has officially been formulated and sent to certain official institutions.

A much more important paragraph in the Serbian-Croatian agreement from Karadjordjevo concerns the position and fate of the FEC and Prime Minister Ante Markovic. As BORBA has unofficially learned, Tudjman and Milosevic have made a deal according to which Franjo Tudjman—that is, Croatia—would respect Serbia's authority in its provinces as well as its request that Ante Markovic leave the post of federal prime minsiter. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman allegedly agreed to these concessions, but demanded that Croatia resolve the problems in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina—that is, the "Knin case"—in conformity with the Croatian Constitution. We did not manage to ascertain whether any deal was made regarding the position of Serbs and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In fact, it is quite possible that the majority of the republican leaders think that the most acceptable thing to do now—after the SFRY Presidency has been eliminated from further negotiations, and the SFRY Assembly has been pushed to the margins of political events and decisionmaking for well-known reasons—is to eliminate the federal government and Prime Minister Markovic, the only politician with a reputation at home and abroad who could become their rival or arbiter in very specific political and economic events.

Out of all important assumptions and dilemmas that surfaced after the Milosevic-Tudjman meeting, it seems that the most important question is: What if Yugoslavia now decides to abandon its Federal Government? The question is not, of course, founded on the assumption that Ante Markovic is irreplaceable, but on the fact that all financial institutions in the current negotiations on fresh loans to Yugoslavia cite Ante Markovic and his program of reforms. Another equally important thing is that Ante Markovic is the only federal official who unquestionably enjoys the confidence of the majority of Yugoslav citizens; therefore, his replacement could not possibly be a matter of the will of or agreement between the presidents of two of our republics, even if these republics are the largest. A special question is what would happen in the country's economy if the FEC's program of reforms was abandoned. If Yugoslavia cannot obtain loans from abroad, the only thing it can do is to return to the Bolshevik economic concept—printing money. This would definitely lead the country to a catastrophe....

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Kucan Is Annoyed

As BORBA has unofficially learned, Milan Kucan, president of the Republic of Slovenia, received the news about the Tudjman-Milosevic meeting with great dissatisfaction. He allegedly said that in this meeting the leaders of the two republics did not agree on anything important after all.

Markovic Is Not Surprised

BORBA has unofficially learned that Prime Minister Markovic is not surprised about the meeting in Karadjordjevo and a possible agreement between Tudjman and Milosevic to overthrow the federal government. There are some claims that the premier has trump cards for this game too, and that these trump cards could soon be used to resolve the Yugoslav political crisis.

A Secret Combination Involving Suster

The claims made in the official communique from the Tudjman-Milosevic meeting that states that "the consideration of solutions and proposals, like that made by the Yugoslav Economic Chamber on changes in the work and structure of the FEC in the transitional period to protect the country from an economic collapse" have a very interesting political path. Our sources talk about the possibility that Dagmar Suster, president of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, sees a new position for himself in this extraordinary deal of cards. Even as the new federal prime minister.

Markovic Challenges Milosevic, Tudjman to Debate

LD3003120991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1051 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic is quoted in today's BORBA daily as offering a TV-dialogue to Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Dr Franjo Tudjman of Serbia and Croatia, Yugoslavia's two biggest republics.

The same news was broadcast last night by Yutel, the TV network close to the government, while the VECERNJI LIST paper of Zagreb asserted it had reliable information that one of the Yugoslav TV networks had promised it would provide all technical facilities and any desired time for the TV duel.

BORBA reported from reliable sources that Thursday's meeting of the Markovic cabinet had not dealt with changes in the work and composition of the Federal government as proposed three days earlier by Milosevic and Tudjman for the purpose of protecting the country from an economic collapse.

BORBA learned unofficially that Markovic and his ministers had agreed that there would be no accords to the harm of any third parties, especially not to that of the reforms.

Government members, BORBA said, were resolved to carry on the market-based economic reforms and table fresh ideas at the Federal parliament soon.

BORBA learned unofficially that the government assessed as absolutely unrealistic the two-month term set by Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman for achieving accord on Yugoslavia's future.

The cabinet took the stand that the country's new and more efficient system would take five years to begin operating genuinely.

BORBA [word indistinct] that the cabinet said that no one, not even the republics' leaders, might hold negotiations on Yugoslavia as if this country did not exist, expaining that talks on the country's future should be returned to the Federal organs' scope of activity.

Serbia Adopts Law on Organizations' Financing

LD2903222191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly today adopted a law on financing political organizations in the republic. The assembly was divided over the law. It was said on one hand that care should be exercised over budgetary spending, particularly in view of the fact that 500,000 workers in the republic have not been paid regularly and that there has also been a delay in adopting this year's budget. The opposite view, favored by the opposition, was that the republic's treasury should be opened, because there seems to be enough money to finance the nonaligned and the underdeveloped.

In a debate, amendments by individual deputies were rejected and the main propositions of the law adopted.

Under the law each political party will be allocated monthly amounts equal to as many average monthly salaries in the industry of the republic as the particular party has deputies in the assembly.

NIN Calls For Removal of Serbian Government

LD2903121991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1131 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 29 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily NIN writes on Friday that the Government of the Republic of Serbia can with a clear conscience, because "it never seriously came to grips with any one issue, and left the impression it did not know how to." [sentence as received]

The government of Premier Dragutin Zelenovic was elected in late January.

The commentary recalls that the government "had no program," and that the "only thing it managed to 'reshape' was a new economy of the absurd—a new increase in taxes." The weekly cites the example of the mining-smelting basin Bor, which of the 100,000 tonnes of copper it turns out must set aside as much as 70,000 tonnes worth for taxes.

The reason for removing the Serbian Government, in the weekly's view, can be seen also in the intervention of police during the mass demonstrations of the opposition in Belgrade on March 9, which also resulted in two dead and over 140 wounded.

The policy of Premier Zelenovic "leaves Serbia in total isolation from the civilized world," the weekly notes and assesses that the "concepts which the government 'turned up' and showed to the public could be written down on a matchbox and thrown down the river."

Serbian Radical Party Holds Rally; 5,000 Attend

LD3003191691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 30 Mar 91

[Text] Krusevac, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—Today in Krusevac (Serbia proper), in the Trg Kosovskih Junaka (Kosovo Heroes' Square), at a promotion of the Serbian Radical Party, party chairman Dr Vojislav Seselj made a speech. In front of 5,000 people—in addition to the already well-known program of the party, which he set out on this occasion too—Seselj focused in particular on the unification of all Serbs in a territorial and political sense. He also said that the two innocent victims in the 9 March Belgrade incident are also the last victims of Serbian discord. The protest meeting passed off without incident.

Slovenia's Kucan Views Bush's Letter to Markovic

LD2903185491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Otocec, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—The letter from U.S. President Bush to Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic bears witness to the degree of sensitivity with which the world is monitoring events in Yugoslavia. At the same time, however, it is a consequence of the conviction that the reforms in Yugoslavia began with, and will end with, Markovic—which is not true, Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, said today in Otocec, where he was the guest of working meetings of local radio stations of Slovenia.

Milan Kucan said that the reforms in Slovenia began before Markovic and that there is no fear that they might end with him. The conflict between Slovenia and Markovic arises in fact out of Markovic's policy of "the convoy of reform," which not only has stopped but has begun to sink, Kucan said, adding that as a result Bush's support cannot be a cover for Markovic.

Slovene Leader on Future of Slovenia, Country

AU2903174291 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Statement by Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan took part in a meeting of the representatives of local radio stations from all over Slovenia, which was held in Otocec today. Most of his talks with Slovene journalists were dedicated to the meeting of the six republics' presidents in Split yesterday.

[Kucan] Our talks, therefore, concentrated on the question of whether it is possible to reach a consensus about the manner in which we should bring forward the Slovene plebiscite decision. This is important for several reasons:

First, it is important for the sake of future relations with the republics—that is, states on this territory in which we will remain and from which we cannot escape and do not want to escape.

Second, it is important because of the international community, which has set certain rules and principles that it respects to protect itself and is therefore willing to comply with them. Several problems would have been solved if we had reached a consensus on how to implement the plebiscite decision. This would mean that the newly emerged situation on this territory would be acknowledged by other republics or, alternatively, by their communities, within which they may remain if they want to. Then this would not represent a conflict.

The issue of borders as well as the issue of the international-legal succession of the present state would be settled. This, of course, would make it easier for us, for other republics, and particularly for [word indistinct] states to decide on how to implement the acknowledgment, and not only for these states but also for international institutions, especially financial institutions, on whose good will the smoothness of our path toward independence greatly depends. By this I mean the IMF, the World Bank, the European Bank, the EEC, the European Council, the European Parliament—in short, all those institutions we would like to enter. We would make our life very difficult indeed if we failed to understand that the world will not take upheavals as easily as we sometimes imagine; therefore, we have to consider well every step we take on this demanding road toward our independence.

We have to keep this in mind: Many states have emerged and fallen apart as a result of wars, and very few have done so through political agreements. I believe it is worth making big sacrifices, although this requires a lot of wisdom, plenty of expertise, and very little political voluntarism, of which we have a historical tradition here.

Finally, I think that our own democratic position obliges us to do everything we can so the implementation of our decision is not used by someone to turn the present state of neither peace nor war into a state of war—be it a civil war or any other type of war—with which we have been incessantly threatened in this part of the world.

My general assessment is that we have the advantage of having the plebiscite behind us and that our decision cannot be altered.

Slovene Dissociation Viewed

LD2903212891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Text] Otocec, Mar 29 (TANJUG)—Slovene President Milan Kucan, today said Slovenia was currently engaged in talks with the other Yugoslav republics on negotiated dissociation. Kucan spoke at a gathering of Repubican radio stations in the Slovenian town of Otocec.

"Slovenia has the advantage in the talks on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis in that its citizens have already declared themselves in a plebiscite on the kind of state they want to live in", Kucan said.

He explained that "Slovenia's negotiated dissociation would pave the way for (the Republic's) international recognition and cooperation with international institutions" and define its future relations with the neighbors. "If we in Slovenia do not bear all this in mind, we shall create problems for ourselves," Kucan said in conclusion.

Deputies of the Liberal and Social Democratic parties to the Slovenian legislature today demanded an immediate resumption of the debate, adjourned yesterday, on the Republic's secession and a decision on the matter by 3 April.

Speaking on behalf of the club of the two parties' deputies, Deputy Vitomir Gros said in explanation of the demand that, in their first talks in the Adriatic town of Split yesterday, the presidents of Yugoslavia's six republics only "agreed to hold further consultations". He therefore urged that Slovenia hurry up with its secession so it is not prevented from voting. Gros sees a threat of Slovenia being outvoted in the proposal put forth by the republics of Serbia and Montenegro that all citizens of Yugoslavia declare themselves in a federal referendum on the future of the country and the federal government's proposal for the common functioning of the federation, which he views as an unacceptable centralization of all vital functions of the state. Gros's demand was not put to the vote in the republican legislature, but has been submitted to the president of the Slovene Assembly (parliament).

Slavonian Serbs Reject Report on Plans To Secede

AU2903223091 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 91 p 12

[Krunoslava Branic report: "There Is No Question of Secession"]

[Excerpt] Zoran Hadzic from Pacetina is the new president of the Serbian National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem. He was elected president at a conspiratorial meeting in Vinkovci at the beginning of the week. The usually well-informed reporters of POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES reported this and rushed to announce that this northern Serbian National Council will start with preparations for secession and that this was "motivated by the latest constitutional changes in Croatia and the lack of prospects for a common life under the conditions in which the Croatian Democratic Community is not recognizing the basic rights of Serbs. Serbs are discriminated against in finding jobs and even worse, the Serbian population in Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem does not feel safe."

Zoran Hadzic rejected the reports of these two Belgrade newspapers because, as he stressed, the Serbian National Council has not reached a decision on preparations for secession. The council is acting in accordance with the decisions reached in the plebiscite carried out by Croatian Serbs in Slavonia last summer. This means that Serbs from Slavonia and Baranja will secede from Croatia only if Croatia sets up an independent state. If Croatia remains in Yugoslavia, the Serbian people in Slavonia will not raise this question. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Relieves Zelenovic From Presidency Post

LD2903130591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 29 Mar 91

[Summary] Novi Sad, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Today's joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly relieved Dragutin Zelenovic, current president of the Serbian government, from the post of SFRY Presidency member from Vojvodina. Zelenovic resigned from the post upon being elected the Serbian Prime Minister. Out of four proposed candidates for the vacated post—Jugoslav Kostic, Oskar Kovac, Tomislav Vojvodic, and Dragoljub Petrovic—only Jugoslav Kostic accepted the candidacy. The Vojvodina Assembly will this afternoon elect, by majority vote, the new member of the SFRY Presidency from the province.